TEXT-BOOK IN
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HUGHES

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A TEXT-BOOK IN CITIZENSHIP

COMMUNITY CIVICS
ECONOMIC CIVICS
VOCATIONAL CIVICS

BY

R. O. HUGHES

PEABODY HIGH SCHOOL, PITTSBURGH

ALLYN AND BACON

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FOREWORD

The study of Civics, as the study of one's social relationships instead of merely the framework of government, has won a place in every course of study which seeks to prepare boys and girls for actual living. The chief differences in opinion or policy now seem to concern its place by year or grade. For those who can give a *full year's work* to the subject in the upper junior high school or lower senior high school grades, this book has been particularly prepared.

The effort is made here to deal with every topic of importance which is treated in the author's earlier "Community Civics" and "Economic Civics." In introducing the study he has emphasized more clearly the sociological viewpoint, if it is proper to use so formal a word in as simple a treatment as this book seeks to give. Whether particular topics are sociological, economic, or political, however, they are linked together as essential parts of citizenship and social living. The author believes that sometimes reformers have gone too far in getting away from the study of formal government. The essential facts about the form of government, how it works, and what it does, are exceedingly important, and in this book they are given due emphasis.

Features of the author's earlier textbooks, which teachers and pupils have found helpful, are retained, such as questions for thought inserted in the text itself, illustrations which actually illustrate the text, and special topics for individual project study or class investigation. The reading references

which have been given at the close of each chapter are intended to be definitely useful to the pupil and within his comprehension. No effort has been made to expand these lists by including books which the ordinary school library cannot hope to have or whose usefulness is chiefly literary.

Actual testing of material in the class room furnishes advance proof of the value of a textbook in any subject. Such testing this book has received. The author hopes that it will meet the special needs of those pupils for whom it has been prepared, in helping them to experience at a relatively early stage in their school life a living acquaintance with the problems they have to face now and later. He believes this TEXTBOOK IN CITIZENSHIP will be found of real service if used as a guide for thought and study rather than as a reservoir of information.

R. O. HUGHES

PEABODY HIGH SCHOOL, PITTSBURGH
June, 1923

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A TEXT-BOOK IN CITIZENSHIP

A TEXT-BOOK IN CITIZENSHIP

PART I: LIVING TOGETHER

CHAPTER I

OUR ASSOCIATIONS

"We are every one members of another." — Paul.

1. People Whom We See. — The Pirates and the Giants are playing today. Of course a big crowd has turned out. Let us look the people over.

Here is the great mass of steel and concrete which they call the grandstand. Down in front, in the boxes rented for the season, are some samples of the "tired business man," taking an afternoon off. Perhaps he has his wife with him, and perhaps some business associates. Back into the grandstand reaches a great mass of all sorts of people, young and old. Especially we observe a young man explaining the game to his young lady friend. She thinks "it is just wonderful how our pitcher hits the other team's bats with the ball every time he throws."

Off in another direction is the section which before the War was the "two-bit bleachers." Here we notice a couple of boys who worked all the morning cleaning up their neighbor's lawn and garden, but have spent the cash at the gate and on peanuts. Near them is the "oracle" — slovenly, unkempt, and coatless — who knows better than the manager whether Cooper or

Adams ought to pitch today, and why the team isn't in first place. His wife takes in washing. To the left is Dad, who is now having his two weeks' vacation. He has brought the boy with him to the game. It is a great day in Son's young life.

Another time we may stand in front of the Opera House. Here comes a limousine, out of which steps importantly a be-

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THE OPENING GAME

The President is always asked to throw out the first ball at the opening game of the league season at Washington. Secretary of State Hughes is sitting at his left.

jeweled woman and inoffensively a meek-looking man. Perhaps she likes music, but certainly she enjoys displaying her clothes. The man pays the bills, but he would much rather be at the club just now. Next we see the professional music teacher, with long hair and flaring necktie. Then come two girls. They traveled on the street car. They have saved their spare nickels for a month to take advantage of this occasion, for they "adore" Galli-Curci.

Some other day we may go to the movies, to the county fair, or to church, and look around us in similar fashion. There, too, we shall see all sorts and conditions of men, women, and children. Indeed, when we observe even our own classmates, we may wonder how they can be so totally different when they all live in the same community and go to the same school.

2. Why the People Are There. — Let us consider for a minute the facts and conditions that make it possible for people to come to these places.

For one thing, the crowd that came out to the game could not have come unless they had the price of admission. If they had not earned their own way, some one else had earned the money and given it to them. Some people must have been engaged, then, in regular employment, or else nobody could afford to attend such entertainments. The person who provides these amusements is not doing it for charity. It is his business, his means of livelihood. Moreover, grandstands and theaters, and fairgrounds and churches cost something.

Now could such gatherings have been held everywhere in the world? No, it is only in communities where people have established a settled and orderly government that such assemblies can take place, with nobody worrying about the safety of himself and those around him. Our government, representing the will of the whole people, guarantees in the great document which we call its Constitution " the right of the people peaceably to assemble." So we go to the game, to the movies, to church, or to any other place of assembly, and take it for granted that we can go safely and return safely and that no one will interfere with us or menace our lives or deprive us of our property. When we are thus interfered with, the occasion is so unusual that it may get into the front page of the newspaper.

Furthermore, this same government which has helped to insure our safety in coming together has made our assembling easier by constructing and maintaining streets and sidewalks

and making possible the laying down of rails on which street-cars may run. Probably one or more representatives of that government, in the persons of men wearing uniforms, were present somewhere about while many of these assemblages were being held.

We see, then, that at least three phases of people's life have been connected with our attendance at places of amusement or uplift: our contact with other people in a social way; the providing of the means to carry on these enterprises; and the

A View on the Columbia River Highway

People from thousands of miles away can travel in safety to look upon this scene, because our national government affords protection to its citizens.

government and authority which act in the interest of the whole people to protect them as individuals and carry out their wishes as a body. We may call the three sorts of interests which we are about to study Living Together, Earning a Living, and Executing the People's Will. Almost everything human beings do is connected in some way with these three interests.

Under which of these heads, if any, would you classify the following: reading a book, attending a political meeting, cleaning the streets, printing postage stamps, watching the stars through a telescope, making a bonfire of dead weeds? Can you think of any common activities or ways of spending the time that are not related to any of these three interests?

3. Groups to Which We Belong. — The occasions about which we have been speaking bring people together for only a little while. But there are relationships which are lasting. There are groups which do not readily break up and with which we are connected during all of our lives or a considerable part of them.

Almost every one of us is, or was at some time, a member of a family. The institution which the family represents, the

EMERSON'S HOME, CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS

This old New England type of dwelling looks very comfortable.

home, is the earliest and most natural of those social groups to which people are related. Dozens of Jones families and Brown families have disappeared in the destructive blasts of time, but there still are millions and millions of families.

All of us, we may assume, are connected with a school for a considerable part of our lives. The members of the school change from term to term. The graduates of a school sometimes wonder how it can live after they are gone, but the institution keeps on and year by year adds dozens or hundreds to

the list of those whom it has helped to become better men and women and better citizens of our country.

Very many of us not only attend services, but are or have been directly associated with some church, though some of us not so closely as might be desired. Here is another institution which has been in existence in some form for centuries and which as far as one can see will endure as long as the world lasts.

We are all, too, members of some political community — a town or city, a state, or country. Altogether too often we think of the State of Ohio or the United States of America as outside organizations which we are taught to respect and to support, but we forget that we are a part of them. The State of Ohio and the United States of America are made up of human beings, and the whole group is greater or less, better or worse, by reason of the life of even one person. It would be a curious club in which every member was an officer. We are just as truly members of our state or nation, even though we may never be elected to any office under either of them.

Make a list of all the organizations or associations with which you and the other members of your family are connected. How many of these do you think of as permanent and how many establish only a short relationship?

4. Facts about Society. — It is often interesting to imagine ourselves living back in the days of George Washington or Andrew Jackson and to try to figure out how differently we should have lived then from the way we do now. If we put ourselves back mentally in the days when either of those gentlemen presided over the United States of America, we shall find that all these institutions of which we have been speaking existed then, and had been in existence for hundreds and hundreds of years. The great purposes of them all were the same then as now, but the methods that they used were often decidedly different.

From your knowledge of American history point out differences in the home, school, church, community, and nation in 1789 and 1829 as compared with today.

With these observations as a basis, let us sum up a few of the characteristics of the society in which we live. If we understand the big principles of the life that is about us and of

HARVESTING PINEAPPLES IN FLORIDA

Imagine the change or "evolution" in methods of work that must have taken place since men first gathered pineapples.

which we are a part we shall see our own place and our own duty much more clearly.

First, ours is a *dynamic* society. That is, the men and women among whom we live have power to change the conditions of their lives and even to change themselves. Our age is neither dead nor standing still. Further, the institutions which play such great part in our lives are constantly taking on new features — becoming better, we like to think — and there is no reason why the changes which occur should not be for the better if we only strive to make them so. A process of *evolution* has been going on through the centuries and still continues. Do not misunderstand the word "evolution." It means only

that, out of crude and simple beginnings, men and the world are becoming better adapted to each other, and a higher and better life is developing.

Again, we notice that men naturally unite in groups and work through them to accomplish the things they try to do. It is just as natural for people to associate with other people for pleasure, or worship, or business, or government, as it is for them to eat. Besides, each individual differs from every other, and exerts some influence on the community and the age in which he lives. Still further, it is a helpful fact that, though individuals pass away as the years come and go, the great institutions of society last. They might well repeat with Tennyson's "Brook": "Men may come, and men may go, but I go on forever."

Would you like to live in a world where all people were alike? where the conditions of living never changed? Which is better for men, to be born into a world which would seem to them perfect, or into one which they themselves have the power to make better? Is it possible for a man or a people to stand still, socially?

5. Some Terms We May Wish to Use. — We have used a number of words as if everybody understood perfectly just what they signify. Perhaps we had better not assume too much, however. Sometimes two or more words have so nearly the same meaning that we may carelessly use one for the other. That is why we should distinguish the exact shades of meaning of some of these possibly confusing terms.

By *group* we usually mean a comparatively small number of people who are associated for a rather definite purpose. "The family group," we say, for instance. By *community* we mean a body of people who occupy the same neighborhood, be it large or small. Usually they have interests in common — sometimes many. But the fact of location is the big thought involved in that word. By *society* we mean mankind taken together. When we use that word without an article preceding it, we should think not of the individual members, but of the whole number collectively. When we speak, for instance, of

" the customs of society," we mean not what any one person says or does, but the habits and practices that prevail in general among people. By *institution* we mean a particular organization or association that has been formed to promote a special object — the school, to further education, or the church, to promote right living and encourage the worship of God.

Two words often confused, especially in this country, are " state " and " nation." A *state*, in the broad and general meaning of the word, is an independent organization of people for the purpose of government. We use it in this country to signify one of the parts of our Union, but that is not the original meaning of the word. By *nation* we mean a relatively large body of people largely related by birth, having various interests or qualities in common and occupying a fairly definite territory. We may think of a " nation " without thinking of its government — not so in using the word " state."

Use in sentences each of the words defined in this section so as to make clear that you understand its particular meaning.

Can you give an example of a nation that is not a state? Are the Jews a nation? the Irish? the Australians? the people of the United States? What difference is there, if any, between *nation* and *race?*

In studying all these various activities of human beings several " sciences," so called, have grown up. All of them put together we may group under the head of *social science* — that is, the study that concerns the relations of men with one another. But more often we give definite names to divisions of this great field.

History, for example, is the record of men's deeds in the past that caused the world to be what it is today. *Sociology* is the study of men's association with other men as human beings and of the customs and relationships that have resulted therefrom. *Economics* is the study of men's dealings with one another in the earning of a living; or, from another viewpoint, the principles that govern the gaining and using of wealth. *Civics* is the study of government and its activities in behalf of the people.

The underlying principles of government and the ways they are put into practice are sometimes studied under the name of *political science.*

In the work we have just begun we shall touch upon all these social sciences. It will not help us much to bother greatly about which of them we may be dealing with at any time. All of them will have a bearing upon the topics we consider. We are trying to find out the leading facts and some of the great principles that apply to men's relationship with other men in the world of today, and particularly in the United States of America.

SPECIAL TOPICS

Are People Happier than They Were a Century Ago?
Are People Better than They Were a Century Ago?
The Many Interests of a Human Being.
A Community Where Changes Never Come.

READINGS

Lessons in Community and National Life, A–2.
Thompson — Elementary Economics, pp. 3–9.

CHAPTER II

THE LAND WE LIVE IN

" I love thy rocks and rills,
Thy woods and templed hills."
— Smith.

6. What Geography Means to a People. — We have just been noticing a few of the important facts about people's relations to one another. Next we may think for a little about the land in which our home, school, community, and national life is spent.

Does it make any difference to you where you live? " A little," you say, " because if I lived in an old rickety house in the slums or in the smoky, dusty part of a city I shouldn't be nearly so comfortable or happy as somewhere else." More than that, different climates are actually responsible for different characters and temperaments. If you lived in the torrid zone you might be careless and unambitious — even lazy. You would " take things easy " and refrain from working any more than was necessary. On the other hand, if you lived in the North-land — not too far north — you would be energetic, quick-moving and hard-working, because the colder climate would prevent your being otherwise. Too far north, of course, you would have to spend too much of your time simply trying to keep alive and warm.

Now come nearer home. If you lived on a desolate prairie, exiled from human intercourse and from educational opportunities you would be a vastly different person from what you are. The same conditions apply to a nation.

A nation cannot hope to make progress if it is deprived of access to the rest of the world. The desire to possess river

valleys and fine harbors has even caused wars among nations. When trade can be carried on easily between parts of a country, or between a country and the rest of the world, its people can obtain many more things to make life comfortable and know

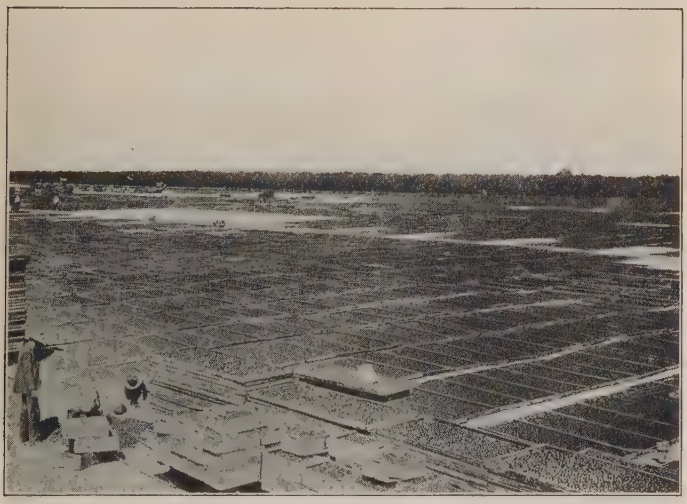
A Product of Warm Climates

This man has been harvesting cocoanuts in Florida.

more about the other peoples and lands of the earth. Nations which have broad and varied interests are likely to advance much more rapidly toward better living than those that are more or less shut off from the rest of the world and center their interest on one occupation or a limited number of activities.

Besides, a country's geographical resources determine its main industries. Waterfalls or coal and iron deposits give

birth to factories. Broad, fertile valleys or rolling prairies become flourishing farms. Good harbors turn people toward seafaring enterprises. So geography largely decides: (1) the character of a country's inhabitants, (2) the resources and the industries of a nation, and (3) the standing or progress of its people. It wholly controlled man in his primitive condition



An Acre of Prunes

This is near Santa Clara, California. The California climate is particularly suited for both the growing and the drying of these fruits.

and will continue inevitably to influence him in his most advanced stage of civilization. Scientists and engineers can modify some of the earth's outward features, but they cannot repeal the great laws of geography which have been drawn up and enforced by the Power that made the world.

Show how your own community and state have been influenced by geography and natural resources. Mention some of the most notable accomplishments of man in changing the earth's surface. Has any large part of it been changed by man? How great effects have such changes produced?

7. Our Country's Natural Advantages. — Our United States of America have grown up in one of the most favored of the great areas of the world. The main body of our land is in the temperate zone, with variety enough of soil so that most of the

A Cattle Round-up in Montana

things we need in order to live can be produced within our own borders.

The soil of our country furnishes a wide variety of farm products. Vast areas of it, notably the great Mississippi Valley, are as fertile as any extensive sections in the world. Cotton, tobacco, corn, oats, and wheat are all raised in abundance in different parts of our southern and central plains and lowlands. Much of our eastern highland is underlaid with coal, which means so much to the industry of today. Iron is found in various places as far separated as Minnesota and Alabama, and the mountain districts of the West have stores of gold, copper, silver, and lead.

We have a matchless series of harbors along the coast. This fact made it easy for our first settlers to keep in touch with

those parts of Europe from which they had come and which then represented the highest civilization. Miles upon miles of navigable waterways reach up into the interior of our country. Except in the mountains of the Far West it has been easy to lay thousands of miles of iron rails over which railroad trains rush with passengers and freight.

The location of our country has had much to do with its history and political life. It was far enough removed from the mother country to make it impossible for that government to

COTTON READY FOR SHIPMENT

Imperial Valley cotton is said to be among the finest grown.

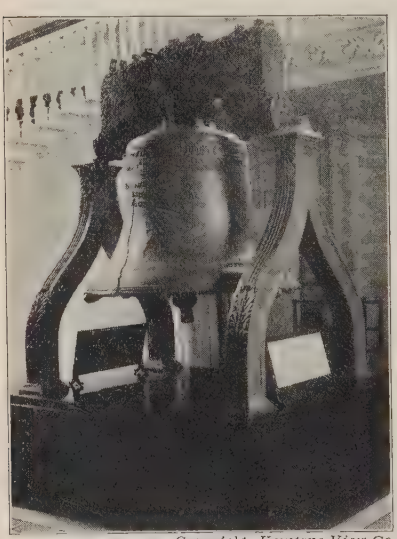
keep her colonies in North America under her control after they sought to become independent. Then, while they were struggling to establish themselves firmly as an independent nation, they were able to keep out of the quarrels of the Old World sufficiently to accomplish what they were seeking. Now that we are a great and powerful people it may be our duty to lend a hand to the nations of the Old World struggling for relief from war and confusion. But it was well for us that we could grow strong without having to settle any problems but our own. No nation indeed has been more favored than we. In fairness

we must recognize this fact when we judge other countries, and must not jump to the conclusion that we have nobody to thank except ourselves for our present might and greatness.

If the settlements which grew into the United States had been made by the same people in Greenland or Brazil, would their history have been greatly different? Which are likely to amount to more, an enterprising people in an unattractive land, or an easy-going people in a well-supplied land?

Pick out the six, eight, or ten most significant movements or events in American history. Why do you select each? To what extent was climate, soil, or location responsible for any of them?

8. General Features of Our Government. — The government of the United States of America is a *federal republic.* There is a great deal in these two words. By *federal* we imply that our country is formed of parts or divisions which have governments of their own but which have joined in a strong union and have turned over extensive authority to a central government. A government so united with a strong central authority is a *federation.* If a government similarly put together has a weak central authority and reserves most of the power for the parts or divisions, we call it a *confederation.* During the latter part of the Revolution and until our present Constitution went into effect, the United States of America formed a confederation. Our first constitution, indeed, was named the Articles of Confederation.



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THE LIBERTY BELL

No memento of epoch-making events is more treasured by Americans than this.

We are fond of referring to our government as "of the people, by the people, and for the people." That is what the word *republic* means — a government in which the people elect officers to carry on public affairs instead of attempting to do it themselves directly. Not all republics are federal republics, and not all federations are republics, but ours combines both ideas, and was the first large nation to do so successfully.

Each of the forty-eight *states* — that is the name which we apply to the parts of our Union — has a constitution of its own and a government whose officials are very similar to those of the national government. The states are themselves divided for purposes of better government, but they are not federations, for each part has only such power as the state lets it have. All the states are divided into *counties*.[1] The counties are further subdivided into *towns* or *townships*, *boroughs* or *villages*, and *cities*. We shall later go more into detail about this matter of local government, but we shall assume that you understand in a general way how these units of government are related.

Government	Chief Executive (to enforce laws)	Law-Making Body	Judicial (try offenders and interpret laws)
National	President	Congress	Courts
State	Governor	Legislature or General Assembly or General Court	Courts
Local	Mayor, Burgess, Village President, etc.	Council or Aldermen, Trustees, etc.	Magistrates, Justices of the Peace, etc.

Chief Officials in Our Governments

Make a diagram that will show how our government as a whole is put together. Fix it to suit your state and local government.

[1] Louisiana calls them *parishes*.

It appears, therefore, that we have been wonderfully favored by nature with opportunities for building a great nation. Almost every natural condition that aids in making a nation strong and progressive exists among us — temperate climate, fertile soil, rich mineral deposits, abundant water-power, and fine harbors. We have a people's government, formed with the purpose of letting each section have something to say about its own affairs, and at the same time of providing a central authority strong enough to protect and promote the common interests of the whole country.

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Natural Resources of Our State.

Why Our Town (or City) Is Here.

The Natural Advantages and Disadvantages of England (France, Japan, etc.).

The Effect of Climate on Men and Nations.

READINGS

Bogart — Economic History of the United States, Chapter 1.

Gillette — Constructive Rural Sociology, Chapter 3.

Brigham — Commercial Geography, Chapter 7.

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

CHAPTER III

THE HOME

"'Mid pleasures and palaces though we may roam,
Be it ever so humble, there's no place like home."
— Payne.

9. The Place of Home in Our Lives. — If we were asked to write a theme on "The Person Whose Life Has Most Influenced Mine," most of us would probably, if we thought carefully about the matter, select our mothers as the ones who have had most to do with making us what we are, as far as we are good. But we have two parents, and twice as many grandparents and so on back, and we may have inherited some feature or talent from almost any of them.

If this is true, the home is surely the first of our great social institutions to be considered. It is the first in point of time, too, as well as in importance. Most of us come into membership in a home as soon as we come into the world, and most of us spend some years in it before we realize that there are any other social institutions at all.

If we look at the matter from the viewpoint of society, indeed, the chief reason for the existence of the home is that there children may be born and cared for, and trained until they are old enough to come into contact with the social institutions that older people have formed. Even many of the lower animals set up short-lived homes where they may care for their young and train them to look out for themselves. We may almost say the home is the one social institution that nature herself has ordained. The others men have founded.

Right thinking people never cease to feel an affection for their home. It is the center of their deepest and tenderest interests. It is a refuge when things go wrong in the world outside, a place of rest and refreshment that enables them to meet the toil and strain of the world of labor. In short, it is the foundation of society.

Why is it specially important that very young children should receive particular care? Suppose an orphan is brought up in a poorhouse or other institution; what would he lose and what might he gain as compared with a child trained in his own home? Are there any homes into which it would be a misfortune for children to come?

Enumerate the ideas, habits, and tastes that are usually formed at home before one has much to do with other institutions.

10. Places Where People Live. — There is a big difference between a house and a home. It is said that only six languages besides the English have a word for "home." And what a lack this is! A house is a place where people may live. A home is the common life of the family who occupy a particular place. The former is material. The latter is spiritual. A house is made of bricks, perhaps — a home, of love. When we move from one place to another our house stays behind, our home goes where we go.

Yet it does make a difference where we live. Homes can be pleasanter and happier in some surroundings than others. A dirty, tumble-down dwelling, surrounded by a still dirtier court or street and framed on both sides by other dwellings of the same kind, could not possibly create the same attraction for its inmates that they would feel for a clean, neat, attractive dwelling-place, be it large or small, in a neighborhood where the air is pure and there are some flowers and grass to add a little of nature's beauty to the place. If, besides, dozens of people are crowded into one dingy, filthy dwelling, conditions become still worse. Then a family cannot live a real family life. They cannot help being thrown into constant contact with others whose influence under such surroundings cannot be uplifting.

Even a big apartment house, no matter how richly furnished may be its rooms and how many janitors and elevators may help to make the place clean and convenient, can hardly seem like a real home for most people. Who could develop much love for Apartment No. 8 on the sixth floor of 408 West 130th Street! The phrase does not sound like a home and hardly any

INTERESTING HOUSE PLANNING

The terraced apartment gives everybody a front porch. San Francisco is hilly, and a house-builder does well to adapt himself to the land as he finds it.

stretch of the imagination can make it so. Yet apartments and duplexes house more and more each year of the people in our large cities.

It usually makes a difference, too, whether people own the place where they live. Those who own feel a personal interest in the spot. They take some pride in its looks. It means something to them to keep the plumbing in repair and the outside painted. The renter is not thinking so much of how he can make his dwelling-place more attractive as he would if it were the location where he is to spend his life permanently.

When he wants a change he has to call upon the landlord. If the landlord is not in a generous frame of mind, the change does not come, and at best it will come at the landlord's convenience. Moving day is a sort of annual festival to some families.

Unfortunately, more and more people are content each year to let somebody else provide them a place to live. The census of 1920 found in this country 24,000,000 families. Of these 13,000,000 lived in rented dwellings. More than half of the people of the United States depend upon somebody else to provide them a place to live! No wonder rents are high and getting higher. New York has the lowest record of dwellings owned by their occupants of any city in the country. Less than 10 per cent of the people of Manhattan Island own the places where they live. Some other cities, generally farther West, such as Detroit, Indianapolis, and Los Angeles, claim that 40 per cent of their people own their dwellings. For large cities that is an excellent record.

Perhaps you have heard some one say, "I have sold my home." Had he? Do people become really affectionate toward their residences? Why?

What people, if any, should rent rather than own? What is your community's record in regard to house-owning? If you can work it out without advertising any family's private business, find how your own class stands on the matter, and why.

11. The Ideal Home. — The normal person, even when he is enjoying the privileges of a good home, looks forward to the time when he shall have a home of his own. Not that he is dissatisfied with that in which he lives, but in the natural course of things his family group will some time break up and other groups will grow out of it and begin their own separate lives. Every such person could well afford to think rather carefully about the kind of home he would like to set up when he undertakes that great enterprise on his own account.

He will want it to be a comfortable place, not necessarily large or showy, yet with enough room so that the family need not get in one another's way or be forced to go outside to spend

enjoyably their time of rest and leisure. He will like to have it in pleasant surroundings. Not many of us can afford to have a grand estate with far-stretching lawns and stately trees and great beds of flowers, and perhaps a little private lake such as some millionaires have; but we like to have some of these

A Western Ranch Home

Would not almost any one be willing to live here?

things in our neighborhood, and a few of them so located that they may appear to be the results of our own care and thoughtfulness.

Still more, the normal person will want a happy, contented life for the members of his home. He will want each one to feel perfect confidence in the good-will and devotion of the others. He will wish to have such a genuine, whole-hearted interest in the home that after all each member will prefer to be there rather than somewhere else the greater part of the time. He will want it a place where it is easy to do right and where no one will think of doing wrong.

What can money do and what can it not do for a home? How and when may "money matters" wreck a home? What effect do servants have upon home life? Does an attractive-looking dwelling make home life happier?

Mention personal courtesies sometimes overlooked which would add to the happiness of a home.

Does Longfellow's "Children's Hour" represent the life of the average family of today? Should it?

Should a family go to church together?

Considering the question from the standpoint of the children's welfare, what is the ideal size of a family? Is there any disadvantage in being an only child?

The Census Bureau found an average of 4.3 persons to a family in 1920. The number is decreasing with each census. Is this a good sign?

12. Homes of Earlier Days and Now. — Poets and story-tellers make much of the homes of olden times. As they write about the life in those happy habitations we are almost tempted to wonder when this existed. It seems so different from the common story that stares at us on the front pages of our newspapers today. Of course there were not so many things to do elsewhere a hundred or a hundred and fifty years ago as there are now, and naturally that left more of the time to be spent at home. People worked harder during the day than they care to work now. When the day's work was done and darkness came on they just naturally enjoyed an evening of quiet and then an early rest. A family talk in front of the wonderful open fire was a pleasure we have missed.

Pioneer Life

This is not a photograph, but it gives a fair idea of the living conditions in Lincoln's boyhood home.

"Now stir the fire and close the shutters fast,
Let fall the curtains, wheel the sofa round;
So let us welcome peaceful evening in."

Now, instead of the family's sitting down for a quiet evening together, Johnny dashes off to the Boy Scouts, Susie and her chum hurry to the movies, Dad goes to the lodge, and Mother — perhaps she stays. With altogether too many the home has become a place to eat and sleep and not much else.

We have many more comforts and conveniences in our modern homes than did our forefathers, but these do not seem to keep us at home any more or so much. Even with our small families it sometimes seems as if each one has an interest wholly different from the others. Father's work or business worries tire him out or follow him home, and he cannot take much real pleasure when he is with his family.

No doubt, we have a broader life than our grandfathers and great-grandfathers, and our minds and souls are touched by scores of influences from outside to every one a hundred years ago. Is this good or is it bad? Perhaps we had better not attempt to answer this too readily. It is far from entirely good — that is sure; but, on the other hand, a narrow horizon and closely shut-in life cannot mean nearly so much either to the individual or to society as one that touches other people more often and in many different ways.

Mention some features of the old-time family life which *cannot* come back. Mention some that can and should be revived or strengthened. Mention some pleasant features which a modern home may have but which our great-grandfathers did not. Do you discuss current topics or school events at home? Why?

13. Influences That Break Up the Home. — Let us think a little about the reasons why the home is less often the real center of people's lives than it used to be. We have already mentioned one reason. The whole world has developed a great many new interests and ideas which a century ago few dared to dream of. These have made men's lives much broader and

fuller. Many of them we cannot enjoy within the walls of our dwelling. We must go outside for them.

We may particularly mention the great demand of people today for amusement and the dozens of places where they can pay for it, as well as some where they can get it free. The whole

One of the Salvation Army's Activities

This is a good place for the men to gather when they are out of work. This room is intended especially for ex-service men. Why do you suppose these fellows are not at home? Are they missing anything by not being there?

world seems to have become restless. We are not content to take things easily or to make progress slowly. We must be on the move. Home life, if the right kind, can never be fast life in any sense of the word.

Another cause for people's leaving home much of the daytime lies in the changed conditions in business and industry. Not nearly so much work is done in the home, the shop, or even on the farm as was once the case. Great factories and stores supply a very large part of our needs. To carry on such places people must leave home a considerable part of the day. In

such establishments, women and girls often find a place. If a family is large or has been unfortunate or poor, the greater part of its members may feel it their duty to go out and help make a living for the family. If this need seems so great that the mother has to go out with the rest, then indeed does the home life seem almost to disappear.

Then again, some families appear to set up a low standard of life. We hear it said that real, personal, family religion is disappearing. We sometimes think that people are less willing to put up with others' weaknesses and mistakes than they were once. Constant quarreling will ruin any family. Liquor used to do infinite harm, and still does some. We hear often of men and women who take too much interest in women and men outside their own family. Some newspapers like to play up that sort of thing, and so more of us know about it when it does happen. But the number of divorces is much greater than formerly. Every divorce means a broken home. If there are children in the family, the situation is much worse than if there are not. The easy divorce laws of some of our states seem almost to invite the breaking up of families, rather than to permit it simply as a last resort for hopelessly mismated people.

"Mother is a gadabout, Father is a checkbook, Mary is an ornament, and Johnny is at Harvard." Does that quotation describe an ordinary family of today? Who or what may be wrong in a family that could be truthfully described like that? Is it too late to mend?

14. Who Is to Blame? — It may be that the odium of home-breaking is not so much due to men and women as to the conditions under which they live. It is not the fault of individual men and women but the changed character of industry that makes people leave their homes eight hours a day, not counting the time it takes to get to and from their place of work. It is not entirely the fault of individual men and women that they leave home sometimes in order to obtain the seemingly good things a community has to offer in the way of culture and recreation and opportunity for worship.

Yet these things are, after all, external. They do not need to weaken the family ties of affection and loyalty. It still rests largely with each person himself whether he is content to seek outside for *all* of his recreation and of the other things that go to make up his higher life. Many times he could bring some of them into his home and share them with the members of the family. There could be in many cases more effort on the part of each member of a family to understand the other members, to sympathize with their interests, and to show a friendly desire to keep in touch with what they are thinking and doing. When families break up because no member seems to care about the rest, it surely is not the fault of society.

Are we ready to say that selfishness is worse today than it ever was? We hope not. Even if some people talk too much about their " rights," it may also be true that selfish people cannot " walk over " others as easily as they once could. Even the disturbing increase in divorces may partly mean that people are more willing openly to recognize conditions which once they tried to hush up. It is a good thing, too, that there are now many ways in which a woman may support herself. We are going through a period of change in industry, religion, and social customs. We need not hastily declare that everything has gone to the dogs. Perhaps all will come out right if we unitedly get to work trying to make things better instead of lamenting about the evils we see.

15. Making Homes Better. — To make the next set of homes better we have to begin with those that are now in existence. Right from the start children ought to show a respect for parents which is altogether too seldom seen. In fact, the old saying seems to have been reversed in some homes so that it now runs " Parents should be seen but not heard." No social institution can be expected to last unless somebody possesses authority and exercises it with good judgment and common sense. We must have this condition in our homes.

We must try to keep alive always a sincere interest in the welfare of every member of the home. We must train each of the

younger members for becoming some time one of the joint partners of a home of his own. We must not be so interested in mere amusement or even so completely devoted to money-making that we have no time in the home for those occasions for

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RECEPTION ROOM IN A COLONIAL MANSION

worship or serious discussion of the common interests of the family that so vitally aid in the success and happiness of any home.

Better laws in relation to marriage and divorce would doubtless help. Perhaps we should not say that a man and a woman who have found that they made a bad mistake in marrying should be forced always to live together. But surely our laws should not encourage easy separation for no other cause than a temporary quarrel which the two parties will get over if they think they must.

Perhaps, too, we ought to begin at the other end of the story. If it were not so easy for people to get married as it is in some

states there might be more thought before taking such an important step. Stricter marriage laws might help to prevent divorces.

Some believe that there should be national marriage and divorce laws. Under our Constitution as it stands today Congress has no power to pass such laws. Each state passes them for itself, so that there may be forty-eight different kinds of laws on this matter. Many believe that our Constitution should be amended so as to bestow upon Congress the power to pass laws for the whole country on these matters. Then it would be likely that such laws would be reasonably strict, and there would be nothing to hinder states from making them even stricter if they wished.

What rules should a good home have about children's going out in the evening? Can children make their homes better right now?

16. Preparing for Home-Making. — In the old days, when young people were at home the greater part of the twenty-four hours of each day they could not help getting training in home-making which is much less easy to secure today. The boys, as soon as they were large enough, helped the father in doing the farm work. The girls just naturally learned to cook, to sew, to mend, and even to make their own clothes. When these boys and girls set up homes of their own they did not have to do many things that they had not already become accustomed to doing.

Now this is changed. In many a home the girls do not expect to learn to cook, or to sew, or even to take care of the house. The boys many times have little opportunity to do much around the house even if they are so inclined. Much of the responsibility which the homes of the old days felt has already been thrust upon the schools. They have not always been prepared to assume this responsibility and to give the boys and girls the sort of training which they all should have, but they must and probably will prepare themselves to meet all their opportunities.

And then every boy and girl should learn something about the importance and seriousness of home responsibilities. They

should not rush into marriage in a hurry without thinking of it as a life-long venture. It has been well said: "The best corrective policy, therefore, is to impart sound ideals of marriage and family in the schools to all of sufficient age; to fix these ideals as social traditions, and to make the social atmosphere frosty toward foolish and frivolous marriage."

Just where or when a boy or girl can secure the kind of advice that is needed may not be just the same for every one. But the parent, the school, and the church alike ought all to feel an obligation in this matter. If all work together to "train up a child in the way he should go," then we may be sure that "when he is old he will not depart from it." Maybe some of us need, as much as anything, to realize that we do not know it all and that those who have been through the mill before us can tell us something.

Is preparation for home-making any more important for a girl than for a boy?

How much of the training for home-making have the parents a right to ask the school to provide? Should they not want to do most of it themselves?

And so our American homes really make America. The home life ought to be spent in pleasant surroundings, where happy, healthful experiences can be provided for every member. Outside influences and attractions, good or bad, ought not to be allowed to break up the home. Each member of it ought to live in such a way as to help the others to live happily and nobly, and the younger members ought to be so trained that, when the time comes for them to set up homes of their own, they will be fitted for the great undertaking.

SPECIAL TOPICS

What Mother Means to the Home.

Selfishness in the Home.

Resolved, that to own a dwelling for himself should be every one's ambition.

Recreations of the Home.

My Ideal of a "Home-Nest."

The House I Hope to Build.
Good Management and Home Happiness.
The Family Pew.
Home Life in Our Town in 1750 (or 1820, or 1850, or 1880).
School Training in Home Duties.
Curfew Laws.
Homes of Famous Men and Women.

READINGS

Lessons in Community and National Life, C–20.
Earle — Home Life in Colonial Days.
Carney — Country Life and the Country School, Chapter 2.
Beard — American Citizenship, Chapter 3.
Beard — American City Government, pp. 1–30, Chapter 11.
Ross — What Is America? Chapter 3.

CHAPTER IV

THE SCHOOL

"The foundation of the state is the education of its youth."
— Dionysius.

17. Why Do We Have Schools? — Most of us cannot escape school any more than we can escape living at home, but for an entirely different reason. The laws of our state insist that we must attend school or else we or our parents may be punished. Now why do we have schools and why are they so important that we are compelled to attend them several years of our lives?

Many of us might answer that the state wants us to be educated, or that we ourselves desire education. But what is meant by *education?* Too many people have the idea that going to school is simply for the purpose of learning facts. We do or should learn a good many facts and do or should remember a considerable number of them. Education does not mean simply obtaining information. Education is the development of all the talents and faculties of mind, body, and spirit. In the school, education ought to be set up as a definite purpose and habit. It should continue as long as we live, though the process of education may change as our age and place in life are changed.

Since most individuals could not easily obtain through their own efforts this development of mind and body and spirit, schools are provided to help us in securing it. Without the school the great mass of American citizens or of any other people would be little better than talking animals. The school teaches us how to mix with other people and to understand their ways and ideals. The school tells us what to do and how to do it. Much of our practical training for earning a living comes

through actual experience in the working world. But without the training which the school gives us, few of us could hope to make much headway in raising ourselves above the mere ability to earn an existence.

Is a person ever too old to go to school? Is there any difference between educating human beings and "educating" the lower animals?

Why are *you* in school? How much has school done for you already? When do you suppose you will fully appreciate the services of the school for you?

18. Why Do We Have Public Schools? — We have public schools mainly because the state wants all of its citizens to be educated and does not feel certain that any large proportion of them will receive the proper training unless it is offered by the state itself. Churches and other religious organizations have provided education for some of the people, and some churches have established systems of schools of their own. But most denominations could not afford schools of good quality and many do not feel that establishing schools is the sort of work which they are particularly called upon to do.

There have been many private schools and teachers through whose efforts those could be educated who could afford to pay the necessary charges. But a large part of the people of any country could not afford to pay for their own education, and a considerable number who could afford it would not do so of their own accord. Our public schools are for the poor as well as for the rich. All may share their blessings alike. If we are to require children to attend school, we must see that they have some place to go.

Now in a government like ours, which rests upon the will of the people, it is tremendously important that education should be broad and general. A free country must have free schools if it is to remain free. Lawlessness and ignorance go hand in hand. The state must protect itself against both. Since the votes of men and women decide how the government shall be conducted, we must see to it that these voters have some chance

to learn the things that will help them to judge intelligently about the policies that our country ought to follow. The public school is itself a sort of course in democracy.

All the great enlightened nations of western Europe have succeeded in teaching almost all of their people to read and write.

A Country Schoolhouse in Massachusetts

This is white rather than red, but there are a great many others like it. A good teacher, however, can accomplish a great deal here.

Our own record is still considerably below theirs, though it is improving. But really it is not at all to our credit that we have to go to the intellectually backward nations of southern Europe or Central or South America to find a larger proportion of people who cannot read and write than we have here.

Incidentally the state knows that educated people can, as a rule, make a better living for themselves and their families than uneducated. The general prosperity of everybody depends upon the well-being of the families who compose "everybody." This offers an additional reason why the state should insist upon public schools — so that nobody may have any right to say that he failed in life because he had no opportunity to know any more or live any better.

How does your state rank in the matter of illiteracy? Is there any excuse for its showing, if it is below the top? Make a map of the United States, with each state colored or shaded, so as to show its comparative standing.

Is it true that "a little learning is a dangerous thing?"

How much do you already owe the state for what it has done toward your education?

19. How Our Schools Are Organized. — As we have hinted, the control of public schools in this country is entirely in the hands of the states. Our national Constitution does not say a word about education. This situation is exactly the opposite of that followed in most other great countries. Usually they have a national officer to supervise education for the whole country. Our national government can help the cause of education only under the guise of exercising other powers which it actually does possess, or in carrying on activities that directly increase its own efficiency. There is no doubt of its right to set up national academies for training army officers at West Point and navy officers at Annapolis, for thus the enforcement of its own authority is made surer. Different departments of the government may issue bulletins stating what they have done, and thus provide very helpful information for the people.

But when it comes to establishing or aiding the public schools in the states, the national government must do so indirectly, if at all. It has set aside tracts of land in every state, except the very earliest ones, to be used for the support of schools. It also aids the states in furnishing vocational education. Bills have been presented to Congress to establish a Department of Education with a Secretary of Education in the President's Cabinet, and to appropriate out of the national treasury $100,000,000 a year for education in the states. This money would be used for particular purposes only, and would be given only to such states as would coöperate with the national government for this purpose. The plan is strongly opposed by some, particularly those who are connected with certain private schools.

The state, however, is wholly responsible for setting up and maintaining public schools within its borders. A very great

deal of the actual work of administering schools is done through officers in counties, cities, townships, or special school districts. But the state tells these subdivisions what they may do or must do in the matter of education. Once the states merely permitted cities or towns to set up school systems. Now they command them to do so. Frequently the state helps the smaller communities out of its own treasury to maintain schools of a higher quality than they could otherwise afford.

In a number of states the county is the unit under which the schools are managed. This is particularly true in the South, where almost all local government, except in the cities, is carried on under county officers. In many states the counties and townships are further subdivided into districts that are usually small. Then each district may provide as good schools as it cares to or as poor ones as it dares to. Experts who have studied the management of schools usually agree that this district system of management does not result in as good schools as when a larger area is the basis of administration. But since some people are determined that the residents of each neighborhood shall have a direct voice in managing their public schools, they are not willing to give up much control of them to officers of the county or the state.

A few states, of which New York is a notable example, have a very thorough system of state supervision of the schools. There the state publishes a syllabus of studies which every school district may use and gives uniform examinations at stated times to every school in the state which is under its direction. Some states require the use of the same textbooks all over the state, but more of them allow each county or school district to select its own books. More and more states are adopting the policy of furnishing textbooks free, but this practice is by no means followed everywhere.

Which policy do you think would result in better schools, a nationally-controlled school system or such a one as we have in this country? If your state has the district system, are the people

THE FIRST NORMAL SCHOOL IN AMERICA

This was founded at Lexington, Massachusetts, in 1839.

satisfied with it? When and why did they give it up, if they had it in the past?

Should any distinction be made between grade school and high school pupils in the matter of free textbooks and supplies?

20. The People Who Administer the Schools. — Every state and every subdivision of a state which handles school affairs has officials to supervise the work. Each state has some one officer as its chief school administrator. Sometimes he is called a commissioner of education, sometimes a superintendent of education, and sometimes a superintendent of public instruction. In about two-thirds of the states this officer is elected by popular vote, but in other states he is appointed, usually by the governor. Most states, too, have a state council of education or state board of education with somewhat general authority in administering school laws. Just what and how much authority such a board has in any state will have to be discovered by studying the state itself. In New York the people who have this general oversight are known as the Regents of the University of the State of New York.

In every state where the county has any voice in school management there is, under some name, a county superintendent of schools. Very often this county superintendent is elected by popular vote like other county officers. In Pennsylvania he is chosen by the directors of the schools over which he has charge. In school districts smaller than a county there is likely, except in the very smallest, to be a superintendent of schools or supervising principal. Sometimes two or three districts may combine under one superintendent.

Outdoor School, Bellport, New York

Children whose health is not good are often greatly improved by doing their school work where they get the outdoor air. Such an arrangement is good for healthy children, too.

In every school district there is a school board or board of education, or board of school trustees, under some name. Most often they are elected by popular vote and number from three to nine or even higher. But in some cases they are appointed by the mayor of a city or some other officer who has no direct connection with the schools. These local school boards have, under

the law, direct control over the schools of their district. They may elect teachers and other officers, adopt policies or programs for the schools, and decide the size of the local school tax, unless the laws of the state limit their power in some way. In most good school systems the superintendent is given very extensive authority in planning courses of study, selecting teachers, equipping buildings, and all other matters related to school management. Even when the law requires the school board to be responsible for certain things, they will frequently vote just as the superintendent recommends.

Every well-managed school with more than one teacher has a principal. Principals and teachers are required in every state to measure up to certain standards of experience or education. We see everywhere a tendency to insist that high school teachers shall have at least a college education and that grade school teachers shall have not less than two years of training beyond a high school course. Many states are still much below this standard. Upon the teacher really rests the success of the school, for if the work in the classroom is poorly done, no amount of brains in a superintendent's office can educate the children. A good teacher can give the pupils something worth while under any conditions. But how much better it is that they shall not have to work where everything seems to discount or even undo the things that they undertake!

What arguments might be offered for or against electing school superintendents by popular vote? Why should school teachers study subjects more advanced than they expect to teach?

Work out a plan showing in full detail the organization and management of your own school system.

21. The Pupils of the School. — In a very real sense the schools exist for the pupils. Do not misunderstand this statement. It is a poor theory that would encourage pupils to do only what they please, for they do not have enough experience to guide them in adopting policies. Yet if there were no pupils there would be no schools. Their needs, by themselves,

and as members of the community, must be the principal object of attention on the part of school authorities.

Practically every state insists that every pupil shall have at least six or eight years' experience in the public schools or in a private school of equal standing. The ages of seven to fifteen or eight to sixteen are commonly selected as the period when

A Small Town High School

This building does not seem to have been unusually costly, but it apparently was well planned.

children must go to school. But at least two states require school attendance until a person is eighteen, unless he finishes a high school course before that time. Several states allow a pupil to go to a kindergarten or primary school as early as four years old.

The length of time in a year during which pupils must attend school is not the same in every state. In some of them nine months is as long as any school is required to keep open. In some others a ten-month term is the rule. In New York it is hoped that every school district will before long keep school ten

months in the year. In some other states school districts are not compelled to keep their schools open more than six months. But there is a general tendency everywhere to lengthen the school terms. No one, however, is required to go more than ten months in the year.

A few communities have a twelve-month school. Pupils are required to attend three quarters out of four, and allowed to go the year round. Is this a good plan? Do you see any dangers in it? What is the use of school vacations? Is there much likelihood that pupils will get through school too young? What is the best age to finish high school? What are the laws of your state in regard to school terms and attendance?

22. The Schools and the Public. — Public schools must be paid for by the public. Once in a great while a generous and wealthy man either gives or wills to a community the funds to put up a fine school building or help pay the salaries of its teachers. But this is not usual. Sometimes, small sources of income may help to increase the funds of a school district, such as certain kinds of licenses, selling public property, or gifts of citizens for special purposes. But the greater part of the money to support schools comes from taxes.

The larger share of this sum is paid by the people of each school district. In a good many states the state legislatures appropriate a considerable sum of money to help out the funds derived from local taxes, or to carry on normal schools or other institutions of learning for which the state is chiefly or wholly responsible.

Sometimes citizens complain about the size of their school tax. Especially in rural districts this state of mind is often found. Such people do not realize how much more schools are doing than did the schools of a century ago or even twenty years ago. Every new thing that a school undertakes is likely to add to the cost of operating it. Our music and drawing, our physical education, our shop work and domestic science, our school lectures, our vocational guidance, are examples of work now done in the schools that even a few years ago were untried or unthought of.

In 1800 the average American had received 82 days of schooling! In 1900 he had received 1046 days, or between five and six school years of average length. And that is not nearly enough.

The people who have to pay the bills naturally have the right to insist that they should get their money's worth. But altogether too many complaints for school taxes come from the fact that people do not realize the variety of ways in which our public schools try to benefit their children. Our public schools are not carried on for profit.

It sometimes seems as if people look upon the schools as simply a means of adding to their expenses or keeping their children from play. To remove misunderstandings, and to keep parents and friends acquainted with what schools are doing, there have been formed in many communities parent-teachers' associations. Altogether too often parents do not visit school unless the principal sends for them. Sometimes a part of the fault is with the pupil, for he does not always make exactly clear at home what the school is doing or what has happened to him.

School exhibits of one kind or another may help to show the work that goes on and advertise the services of a school. But after all, the real way to judge a school is not to look at it on show occasions but to find out how it serves its pupils day by day. Most of the benefit from school life comes unconsciously and through the course of daily events that at the time may not seem to mean much.

Communities are often perfectly willing to spend large sums for courthouses or parks or streets, and then care very little about training the people who are to make use of these expensive public works. Sometimes a stingy person complains about paying school taxes because he has no children in school. He might as well object to paving any streets except the ones he uses. The community is better in every way and his own property is safer because of what the school does for its pupils. Every one's money put together gives every one's children better schools. A friendly attitude towards the schools on the part of the public in general means much for their success.

The Stadium, High School, San Diego, California

Thirty thousand people can gather in this fine outdoor meeting-place. It is used not only for athletics, but for all kinds of public affairs.

Can we who are now in school do anything to make the public think well of it? How much do you do to advertise it? What sort of advertising do you unconsciously give it by your speech and acts? How should we all suffer if public schools were abolished?

How does your state compare with others in its support of public schools?

23. The Schoolhouse — Red and Otherwise. — Many people have a tender spot in their hearts for the "little red schoolhouse," where, as some of them like to boast, they got all the "book-l'arnin'" that they ever received. The old-time country school building with a stove in the middle of its one room, and its rude desks or benches, was usually taught by one teacher who was expected to know enough about fifteen or twenty subjects to instruct pupils all the way from five to twenty years old. The old school did a valuable work, for any one must admit that such schooling was better than none at all. Earnest teachers could do much even there.

But how much better it is that every teacher and every child shall work where conditions are as favorable as possible! Comfortable desks, properly lighted schoolrooms, a reasonable amount of textbooks, reference books, supplies, maps, pictures, and the like, are almost a necessity if schoolroom instruction is to accomplish much, unless the teacher is a genius. Many of these things have a direct effect upon the eyesight or general

The Interior of an Old Schoolhouse

health of the pupil. This is one phase of the situation that has not always received the attention it deserves.

City schools, some may say, can afford all these conveniences and perhaps luxuries. But how can the country schools do it? We may notice, by the way, that not every city school is as well off as the country pupil may think. In the city schools classes are likely to be larger and buildings more crowded. If there are reference books and maps, so many more must use them that the good they can do is greatly limited. In the country school there can be a close relation between pupil and teacher.

The teacher can know the pupil outside the school as well as in it. This desirable condition is much more difficult to obtain in the city.

But it is possible to have first class schools in the country. The remedy most often applied in these days is the establishment of the consolidated school or central school. One township, instead of having half a dozen one-room schools scattered around, may put up a good central building as well equipped as any city school. It can pay large enough salaries to induce experienced teachers to accept positions. Then by providing busses or other means of transportation children can be brought to the school and taken home in the afternoon at a relatively low cost, without spending much more time away from home than if they walked to a nearer school. Incidentally this calls for improved roads. Thus the whole community is benefited indirectly as well as the pupils and the school.

The use of the school building is another important consideration. Since the building was put up with public money, why should not the taxpayers have the benefit of it as well as the children who do not pay taxes? Such arguments have brought about the opening of schools evenings and holidays and even Sundays for community meetings of all kinds. A school director who would not spend a cent for a school gymnasium has been known to become enthusiastic over such an improvement in the school building when he learned that a corn show could be held there.

The schoolhouse may indeed be made the center of many an activity. Some people have even urged that the post office and the community library and perhaps a coöperative store could be carried on there. Really, it is hard to limit the uses to which an enthusiastic neighborhood may put their own school building. When people discover that everybody in the community can use their school building, they are usually willing enough to put up a good building and keep it in repair and provide attractive surroundings besides. Some country schools have athletic fields that would be the envy of dozens of city high schools.

What features should be provided for in every school building? Can you judge a community's public spirit by the style and condition of its public schools? Should a community's playgrounds be carried on in connection with its public schools?

24. The Course of Study. — Years ago it was a common notion that all the ordinary person needed to know was covered by the three R's — readin', 'ritin', and 'rithmetic. Some people seem to think so still, judging by the way in which they object to the cost of adding new subjects. Very true, everybody ought to know the three R's, for they are and will continue to be the foundation for other knowledge, and a school which neglects these in order to put more time on what some people call "fads" is making a bad mistake. But the three R's alone would form a very narrow course of study for a person who wants to do anything more than to count or "keep store." After all, to what uses do we expect to put our education?

One will say: "It will make me a better citizen. I shall understand my relations with my fellow-men and my government. I shall act intelligently in all the various matters that our common interests may call upon us to consider." Another will urge, "My education will help me to earn a larger income." Even if we leave out of account such distinctly commercial subjects as shorthand and typewriting, we find that the average income and the position in life of the college graduate are generally far above those of the person who has only a high school education, and that in turn the high school graduate can hope for much more material success than the person who never goes to high school. Still another person may desire education for the broader outlook upon life that it gives him — the finer culture, the ability to appreciate the best in literature and art and history, the greater facility in using his leisure time properly. Probably no person ignores entirely any one of these three motives — the social motive, the financial or "bread and butter" motive, and the culture motive. The parochial school also has the definite purpose of giving religious training to its pupils.

Our course of study, then, should provide for some attention to all the broad interests that a citizen may have. It should offer the opportunity for the person who enjoys working with his hands to become skillful in that way as well as enable the student and thinker to satisfy his desires for progress. It should not neglect the training of the body, for a pupil who develops his brain and neglects his body is likely to come to grief as surely as the person who fails to develop the talents of mind with which he has been endowed by the Creator.

A Linotype Machine

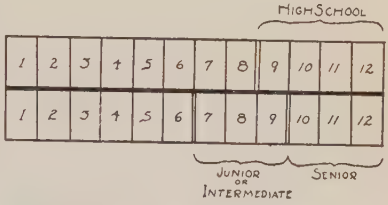
Type can be set with this machine much faster than by hand. The boy is a student in a trade school. His instructor is telling him about the machine.

This much is sure: Education — your own — is the biggest job you have on your hands right now. You are having chances now that you will never have again. Don't let any good thing get away from you, and don't do anything to hinder anybody else from making his school days count for all they can. Probably Whittier's lines are never more often quoted than by those who regret the way they misused their opportunities in school:

> Of all sad words of tongue or pen
> The saddest are these: "It might have been."

To assist in directing pupils through the schools from the beginning to the completion of their course, our schools are graded.

In many states eight grades are organized through which the ordinary student passes before reaching the high school. There he finds four more awaiting him. In some states, however, only seven grades precede the high school. Recently, a very extensive tendency has appeared to divide the twelve grades into two parts. The first six are considered together, the next three are called the junior high school or the intermediate school, and the last three the senior high school. Some communities that believe in doing all they can for the education of their children add a two-year junior college course, from which a person can go directly into the junior year of a college or university.



Two ways of grouping the 12 grades found in the majority of school systems.

Once it was common to criticize our public school system as observing the "lock-step." It was said that all pupils had to go at the same rate, regardless of their ability, and undertake exactly the same kind of work day after day. If that charge was true, it is not so any longer in a good school, for now classes and grades are adjusted to a pupil's ability. In the high schools, particularly, he is given credit for a certain subject when he does the work required in it, regardless of how many other subjects he may have successfully studied.

The high school has made wonderful progress. There are people still alive in some of our oldest cities who remember when the first high school in their city was opened. Now over 2,000,000 boys and girls in the United States are high school pupils. Even the smaller communities which can afford only one high school usually let a pupil choose from three or four different courses. Large cities either have several "cosmopolitan" high schools which teach almost everything, or have separate classical, technical, and commercial high schools. So valuable

and far-reaching is the work of the high school that it has been called " the people's college."

Is it wise to organize the 7th, 8th, and 9th grades as a junior high school? If you have gone to school beyond the age when the law would allow you to quit, why have you done it? Why are you taking the subjects which you are now studying? Is there any danger that the school may offer too many different courses? Do you recommend any changes in the course of study in your schools?

A Fine High School Building, Pasadena, California

What is the platoon system of school administration? Is it employed in your schools? If so, how does it work? In how many different ways does your school offer opportunity for education or valuable experience outside of the use of textbooks? Do you learn more by using books or otherwise?

25. Private Schools. — In all probability we shall never find all our children in the public schools. Some of them never seem to fit in with large groups. They must be treated almost entirely as individuals in order to make much of them. Some parents want their children to receive special religious instruction which the public school cannot provide in fairness to those of different faiths. Some pupils wish to pursue two or three

subjects and no more, and to get these covered as quickly as possible. Sometimes, for a variety of reasons, it may be desirable for a pupil to leave home and to be under the care of other people than his parents or relatives. Some boarding schools do excellent work in supervising the lives of their pupils twenty-four hours of the day instead of five or six hours. Public schools very often cannot avoid large classes. When this is the case parents who have the money and wish to have their children educated in small groups or individually will prefer to pay a private school to do this work.

Some people say that private schools give the impression to their pupils that they are a little better than the ordinary run of humanity. Private school principals always resent any such suggestion, however. They assert that they even render a valuable service to the community in forcing the public school to pursue a broad and liberal policy. If there were no private schools, they say, the public schools might become the tools of a political party or a particular social class that controlled enough votes to get the upper hand in a community. The state, however, always insists that it must have the right to assure itself of the quality of instruction given in private schools. If pupils are to be excused from attending the public schools, the state wishes to be sure that they are getting something nearly or quite as good elsewhere.

Make a list of all the forms of private schools you can think of. What special reasons might urge a parent or a pupil to make use of any of them? From your own experience do you find that any class of private school pupils are snobs? When would it be wise for a pupil to attend a "business college," so called, rather than to take a regular school course? Is there any danger connected with such special "short-cut" schools?

26. Colleges and Universities. — At the top of our educational structure we find the colleges and the universities. To enter any of these now, graduation from a four-year high school or its equivalent is almost always required. Everywhere the great mass of colleges and universities are private institutions.

Some of them have endowment funds from which they obtain incomes to carry on their work. Sometimes generous rich men contribute very liberally to found or support a college or university.

In every state there is at least one institution which is directly controlled by the state government and aided by help from the national government. Such an institution must always teach agriculture or some other practical art. In several of the northeastern states this free college or university is not much else than an agricultural college, but from the Middle West to the Pacific Coast we find in practically every state a state university that is as much a part of the state's public school system as any primary school, and is intended to be the crown of the whole system. In such an institution no tuition is charged to citizens of the state, though of course every student has to provide his own living there as he would elsewhere.

ON THE CAMPUS

You see the tower of Harkness Memorial at Yale University, New Haven

The increase in recent years in the number of people graduating from our high schools is extraordinary, and everywhere more people are seeking a college education. Once hardly more than ten per cent of the high school graduates went to college, but now some of the best high schools send 60 to 75 per cent. Some of our greatest universities have enrollments as high as 18,000 to

20,000. Almost every college in the country has frequently more applicants for admission than it can accommodate. This gives the college the opportunity to select from the applicants the students whose records in their preparatory schools have been of high grade. Perhaps this fact will help to keep out the loafers and professional athletes and "society" men who have done such harm to some of our colleges.

An additional two or more years' training in a special graduate school beyond the regular four-year college course is required before a person can be admitted to practice law or medicine in many of the states. All our large universities now offer opportunity for post-graduate study. Some states insist upon at least a year of such study for high school teachers or if they do not insist upon it, reward with higher salaries those who possess an advanced degree.

What sort of people should and what sort should not go to college? Are you planning to go? Why? Should a pupil's high school record be the only basis of judging whether a college will admit him? What is the record of your school in regard to attendance of its graduates at college? Why? Should it make any difference to a college what particular subjects a pupil has taken in his "prep" school? Should girls plan for college the same as boys? Name ten colleges or universities of special note. Give some striking fact about each one. Other things being equal, would a college graduate make a better President than one who was not?

For the good of our country, our people must be educated. We provide public schools so that no one may lack opportunity. More and more our people are taking advantage of them, and every year they are offering broader courses and becoming better fitted to serve the needs of everybody. Private schools and institutions of higher learning give abundant chance for special training. Surely with all the facilities which are now available, a person can secure all the learning that his talents, finances, and energy will permit him to get. No one has an excuse in this country for being ignorant if he has the brains to be anything else.

SPECIAL TOPICS

Resolved, that every state or school district should furnish free textbooks and supplies for all pupils in the public schools.

Resolved, that every pupil physically able should be required to take a four-year high school course or its equivalent.

Resolved, that an eight-hour school day with no required home work should be generally established.

The Public School System of Our State (or County, or Local Community).

Resolved, that states or local communities should supply college instruction as freely as that of lower grade to all who are qualified to receive it.

Schools of a Century Ago.

Pupil Self-Government in Schools.

The Schools of (some foreign country, ancient or modern).

The Education of (some noted person).

Public Schools in the English Colonies before the Revolution.

The History of the Public Schools of Our State.

The History of (some notable private school or college).

Making School Life Count for the Most.

How to Study.

READINGS

Lessons in Community and National Life, A-11, A-27.

Earle — Child Life in Colonial Days, Chapters 3-7.

Carney — Country Life and the Country School, Chapters 7–12.

Gillette — Constructive Rural Sociology, Chapter 18.

Eggleston — The Hoosier Schoolmaster.

Hughes — Tom Brown's School Days.

Ross — What Is America? Chapter 5.

Magruder — American Government, Chapter 28.

Beard — American City Government, Chapter 12.

CHAPTER V

THE CHURCH

"Religion has been the saving salt of humanity."

— Rowe.

27. Why Do We Have Churches? — If you should observe conditions in a community which does not have them, you would say that the question should read, "Could We Do Without Churches?" No sensible person cares to live in a churchless community. Can any American study the history of his own land and observe how large a part religion played in the founding of the American colonies and how sincere were the religious convictions of most of America's great men, without feeling how much churches have contributed to American life?

Churches teach men how to live as individuals and to set themselves in the right relation to the Power that made the world. Many churches also play a real and important part in the everyday life of our communities. They seek to relieve the sick, to educate the ignorant, to teach that spiritually, at least, all men are brothers. They do not attempt to tell a person just how he shall regulate his relations to his government; but if he guides his life by their teachings he cannot fail to be a more honest, courageous, and valuable citizen than he would be without them.

Do the people in a community who do not belong to any church get any benefits from the presence of churches there? What reasons keep people from attending church services? Is religion a help to patriotism?

28. Churches and Other Institutions. — There is some difference, however, between churches and the other institutions

we have studied or may study. Most of us are born into a home. Most of us cannot help attending school, belonging to a community, or being a member of some nation. A church, on the other hand, is today a voluntary institution among us and in most civilized countries. Children may be forced to attend church because their parents believe it is the right thing to do. But every grown person may choose for himself whether or not he will consider himself a member of a church or attend its services.

MISSION BELLS

These bells are on the old Mission of San Gabriel, near Los Angeles. This is one of the missions founded by the Spanish "Padres" in the later 18th century. They formed the beginning of modern California.

We should not, however, think that there is no relationship between churches and these other institutions. We have already pointed out their benefits to the community and the nation. In at least an equal degree their teachings have helped to make the home the place it ought to be and to set around it safeguards which it otherwise might not enjoy. Churches have done a great deal to improve the social position of women. Most churches, have encouraged education, at least for their own leaders if not for everybody. During the so-called Dark Ages in European history the monks and priests kept alive about all the learning that Europe then had.

What advantages or disadvantages would there be in closely linking the church and the other institutions? Should any of them be united with it?

29. Laws Relating to Religious Belief. — We have studied American history enough to discover that the right of a person to enjoy freedom in religious matters is a comparatively new thing.

Today, however, in most civilized lands a person may choose without hindrance the faith which appeals to him as right. Our

International

A Rural Church

The First Baptist Church of Bellingham, Massachusetts. This church had a woman as pastor at the time the picture was taken.

own national Constitution declares: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Our national government, therefore, cannot support any particular religious denomination or deny any one the right to belong to the church of his choice. Our states have in their own constitutions provisions very much like this. We therefore have complete religious freedom.

A Unique Community

One must respect the sincerity of the people who founded this town in northern Illinois. Do you think the regulations which they have laid down will accomplish their objects?

Most of our states carry the idea of separation of church and state so far that they do not permit any public money to be used directly or indirectly to aid a school or hospital controlled by any one denomination. This particular matter has been the cause of controversies. It has sometimes been urged that since a school or hospital renders valuable service to a community, it might reasonably ask for help from the government, even if it was controlled by trustees who belong to one particular church. In every state, in fact, property owned by churches and used for religious purposes is exempt from taxation. To this extent the state recognizes the good that churches do.

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A Totem Pole in Alaska

Individuals or clans adopted an animal or object as a special symbol of their own. Sometimes these were looked upon almost as idols or had some other distinctive religious significance.

Some might assert that the laws in reference to observing Sunday violate this principle of religious freedom. Yet, after all, none of these laws command any person to do something contrary to the teachings of his conscience. The most that can be said is that they forbid certain things which one may personally not consider wrong on Sunday.

But one chief justification for Sunday laws is that any community is better off if its people observe one day in seven differently from the other days. They then have the opportunity for that rest and quiet recreation that make them better fitted to do the work of the other six days in the week. For this reason

a state is within its rights if it commands people not to do on one day of the week certain things which would interfere with the rest and worship of other citizens.

Did you ever know of a movement to repeal Sunday-closing laws that was not in some way backed by people who wanted to carry on their regular business on Sunday? Is it fair to allow some private businesses to be conducted for profit on Sunday and not all? What do you think of a person who says he can't enjoy himself on Sunday without going to the movies or the theater?

30. Promoting Our Religious Life. — We need to make a distinction between "religion" and "morality." *Morality* is the setting up of right standards of conduct between one man and another. *Religion* teaches morality, but seeks also to set up the proper relation between ourselves and a Higher Power. We may do right, for instance, because we feel that God wishes us to do so, as well as because we think that "honesty is the best policy."

Hardly any people or tribe have ever lived that did not have something which passed for religion. Religion among primitive people was, however, a rather crude thing. Very often it amounted to little more than trying to keep away evil spirits, or at least to make the spirits of Nature well disposed toward human beings. That kind of religion closely bordered on superstition. Men once believed in many deities, but now they look up to one Supreme Being. Our ideas of God have changed considerably, too. We prefer to think of Him now not only as a God of authority, but as a God of love.

In these days, too, we are emphasizing more and more that sort of religion which is concerned with happy and helpful living in this world and not alone with preparing ourselves for the world to come. But religion always represents the noblest and highest aspirations of human beings.

Why would anybody worship an idol of wood or stone which he or some other men had made? Can you explain why in primitive religion morality had little part?

If religion means so much to the life of people, surely we may say it ought to form a part of our education. For that reason some denominations maintain an extensive system of schools, in which definite religious instruction finds a prominent place.

ORIENTAL RELIGION

These are supposed to be images of Buddha in a place of worship in the Orient.

But in our public schools are found members of families of all sorts of religious faiths. Each family may be contributing some of its income to support these public schools, and therefore it will not care to have its contributions used to teach a religious belief which differs from its own.

Many people therefore believe that there should be no teaching of religion, as such, in the public schools. A few of our states even forbid the reading of the Bible in our public schools on the ground that it is a sectarian book.

An entirely different policy is urged by others. Let ministers of any faith, they say, come to the public schools and meet the pupils whose parents wish their children to receive special instruction. Or perhaps let the children be excused for an hour

International

A Remarkable Sunday School Class

Mr. Bryan sometimes addresses 3500 people in the famous Cocoanut Grove at Miami, Florida, on the lesson topic studied in the Sunday school classes.

or so a week from the regular school time to go to their own churches for religious instruction. Still others wonder if such plans will over-emphasize the difference among these denominations and divide the pupils of our public schools into open factions, when a thing that we tremendously need is the unifying of our people into one unbroken American citizenship.

Surely some means of imparting lofty ideals of conduct and life must be supplied by our public schools, because so many of the children of modern families do not see the inside of a church. We have Sunday schools, it is true, some of which are large and

well organized. Yet it is asserted that our Sunday schools reach less than one-third of all the young people under the age of 25 and that under such circumstances our nation is in grave

In a Catholic Church

danger of losing its spiritual power and its moral strength. Certainly we must see to it somehow that in learning how to get rich and to enjoy leisure we shall not lose sight of the higher values in the training of the human soul.

In some states one can get school credit for Bible study done outside the school. Do you think this is a good plan? From what you have seen of Sunday schools, do you think they do thorough work? How might they accomplish more?

31. Differences among Churches. — Perhaps it is not surprising that people differ about religious matters just as they do about almost every other topic that interests human beings. Not counting such so-called heathen religions as Buddhism, Confucianism, and Mohammedanism, which are accepted by several hundred millions of the people of the earth, there are scores of religious denominations, almost all of which are represented in our own country.

A great many people are connected with a particular denomination because it is the family church, and they have never had any special reason for departing from it. With others, attendance at a particular church is sometimes a matter of convenience. With still others it is a matter of real conviction.

The differences among denominations may concern features of the church ceremonies or services; they may be the result of notable events in history or the teaching of famous religious leaders; they may concern the form of church organization; or they may result from differences of opinion about theological doctrines or the interpretation of the Bible. In fact, within one denomination we often find considerable variation in opinions on certain points or in the form of church services. Jewish people accept only the Old Testament as divinely given, and do not believe that Jesus was Himself a divine person. Catholics and Protestants both accept the divinity of Jesus, but differ on many other points. The Roman Catholic Church looks upon the Pope as the head of Christ's church on earth.

Some churches emphasize the principle which they call "apostolic succession." They feel that an unbroken historical relationship should be traced between the present church and the days of the Apostles. Some churches believe that each local organization should control its own affairs, while other denominations have systems of central authority which, to a greater

or less extent, regulate the teachings or customs of the local churches.

Each denomination thinks that it is a little nearer the truth than any other. It is right that people should be loyal to worthy organizations of which they are members. But loyalty to one's own faith does not need to mean that we should impute dishonorable motives to members of other churches or

A Jewish Temple

misunderstand or misrepresent their beliefs and teachings. Sometimes religious controversies are carried into politics and elections become religious fights as well as party fights. That state of affairs is always bad. It has been well said that in matters like this what we need is "light, not heat."

32. Friendliness among Churches. — All the many denominations which we find in this country strive to inspire in their members a desire for right living and to teach the worship of God. The versions of the Old Testament and the New Testament used in the various churches came from the same original sources. Members of every faith have given their lives on the

battlefield for our country and have taken active part in movements to uplift the conditions of humanity in times of peace.

It would seem, therefore, as if the different denominations might work side by side and on friendly terms. During the Great War we saw more coöperation than ever before. Catholics, Protestants, and Jews alike were interested in making the

A Great City Church

lot of the soldier more pleasant and they coöperated in securing money through various "drives." There have been cases, too, where all of these religious bodies took part in a common movement to interest young people in attending a Sabbath school or Sunday school. Members of different faiths very often are closely associated in charitable movements, even when they do not represent their denominations officially.

Among Protestant denominations there are several signs of closer relationship. Several movements towards uniting denominations have been set under way and some have been put

through. Churches often coöperate in holding church services, especially in the summer and on special occasions. Pastors of churches of different denominations sometimes exchange pulpits. In the country districts, instead of having three or four small churches, no one of which amounts to much as a social force, a *federated* church sometimes takes their place.

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A Community Church

John D. Rockefeller often attends this church, which is situated near his home in Pocantico Hills, New York. He sometimes lets photographers take his picture on such occasions, if they will attend services first.

The original churches may continue to exist as organizations in name, but they all hold their services together and have one pastor to minister to the whole group.

In missionary fields, too, we frequently find churches agreeing that one denomination and no other may have the opportunity to work in a particular neighborhood. Other denominations will then keep out of that region. Surely churches that preach the gospel of love and good-will ought to display it toward one another.

What impression might be made upon a Chinaman or a Japanese who saw several different Christian denominations competing for converts in one neighborhood? Why have conscientious people sometimes persecuted those who disagreed with them in religion?

33. Making Churches Most Useful. — A church whose doors are open only on Sunday or perhaps one other day in the week renders far less service to its people or the community than it might. Many churches do indeed keep their doors open all the

Copyright, Boston Photo News Co.

A Mission Meeting

The institution where this gathering took place tries to help people to live more comfortably and at the same time to live well spiritually.

time, if for no other purpose than to accommodate people who wish to go by themselves for meditation or for prayer. But more and more frequently we find churches taking an active interest in the social welfare of their members, especially the young people.

They make some provision for recreation, as by providing gymnasiums, swimming pools, and summer camps. They organize Boy Scout and Girl Scout troops. They hold social

events. Sometimes they conduct lecture courses. In fact the schoolhouse and the church building are the two places in a community which can most easily become the places of resort of people of all ages without having any harmful influences connected with such assemblages. Some churches, especially in the city, take on a great variety of activities, so that they are frequently known as "institutional" churches. They may even maintain rooming apartments and restaurants for the accommodation of people who like to live where surroundings are pleasant and uplifting.

The Y.M.C.A. in a Mining Town, Decota, West Virginia

In speaking of churches we have thus far said little about other organizations which have a definitely religious motive. The three great religious bodies, Protestant, Catholic, and Hebrew, have their Y.M.C.A.'s and Y.W.C.A.'s, K. of C.'s, and Y.M.H.A.'s for the promotion of the higher interests of their members. Their activities are not limited to distinctly religious matters, but the religious aim always plays a part in what they do. The Salvation Army works outside of the church organizations, but is extremely active and sincere in trying to win to a better life the "down-and-outer." It also undertakes a good deal in the way of social service, like providing for the needs of the poor or helping those in some special

distress or need. The missionaries whom churches send out to foreign lands or new districts of the home land often seek to educate the people whom they meet and to relieve suffering and sickness as well as to teach religious doctrine.

How much is your own church doing to promote the social welfare of your community? Are church suppers a good thing?

Show how religion has aided the progress of other elements of culture and uplift in our lives.

Surely the churches, looked at simply as human organizations, are of great importance to any community. If we consider them also as divinely ordained to teach men the highest truth, our regard will change to reverence. Our government, we hold, should not support any particular church, but should protect every one in worshiping as his conscience directs him. Differences of opinion about creed and customs may always exist, but they should not be allowed to lead to misunderstanding, misrepresentation, or ill will. All faiths can coöperate for human uplift, even if they must "agree to disagree" about some things.

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Churches of Our Town.
Great Religions of the World.
Primitive and Modern Ideas about Religion.
A Successful Country Church.
A Successful City Church.
Missionary Work and Workers.
Church Services in Colonial Days.
A Dialogue between a Christian and a Buddhist.
Religion among the American Indians.
The History of the Early Christian Church.
The History of the Sunday School.
Resolved, that our standards of moral and spiritual living and thinking have steadily improved.

READINGS

Lessons in Community and National Life, B-20.
Carney—Country Life and the Country School, Chapter 3.
Gillette—Constructive Rural Sociology, Chapter 17.
Rowe—Society, Chapters 22, 23, 38.

CHAPTER VI

THE COMMUNITY

"A great city is that which has the greatest men and women."
— Whitman.

34. Kinds of Communities. — If a person does not want to live in some sort of community he deliberately has to remove himself from it. If he wishes to be a hermit he must willfully keep himself away from his fellow-men. The normal person associates with others naturally and constantly. People living in the same neighborhood have common interests which can be promoted only by the common action of all.

But communities are by no means all alike. The United States Census Bureau makes two general classifications. All places with 2500 people or more it calls *urban* communities. Below that figure it considers them *rural* communities. Rural communities seldom have houses set close together. The people live more or less separated and their chief occupation is farming. Urban communities are those where houses are built relatively close together and where a variety of occupations — at least several others than farming — are found.

The 1920 census told us that over 51 per cent — more than half — of the people of the United States live in urban communities. Some people are greatly alarmed because of this fact. It is a situation to be considered seriously if people are deserting the farms and moving into the city to such an extent that we are in danger of not raising enough food to supply our needs. But, after all, a place of a few more than 2500 is not very large, and when we consider that such villages are

called urban we possibly need not yet worry greatly because of the congestion of people in cities.

We can classify communities also with reference to other characteristics than population. Some are distinctly residential, such as East Orange and Oak Park. We find a good many communities of this kind in the districts near large cities. There are some college towns, like Ann Arbor and Ithaca.

Other communities are industrial, such as Homestead and Gary. Their inhabitants for the most part work in factories

A New Frontier Town

Calexico, California, calls itself the "Metropolis of the Imperial Valley." It is about twenty years old, but it has finely paved streets, electric lights, excellent schools, and many other up-to-date advantages.

or belong to the families of factory workers. There are mining towns, too, like Butte, and railroad division points like Altoona.

Still other communities, particularly large ones, become centers of trade or general industry — New York and Chicago, for example, or Cleveland. Sometimes a community becomes large simply because it is the business center of an extensive rural neighborhood. In some ways Indianapolis, El Paso, and Los Angeles are examples of such a situation.

How One City Changed in a Hundred Years

The little town at the "Forks of the Ohio" became the great city of Pittsburgh. The upper picture is a copy of a sketch made in 1817 by the wife of a Philadelphia lawyer while on her wedding tour. The lower picture is a copy of a photograph made a century later from a point just a little further down the Ohio.

How would you classify your own community? What sort of community do these words suggest to you — town, village, hamlet, cross-roads? How would you classify Atlantic City? Washington, D. C.? St. Louis?

35. How Communities Grow. — Geography and natural resources have had very much to do with the growth of many places. New York, situated at the mouth of the Hudson River and on a very good harbor, would inevitably become a great seaport. In its very early days almost every nationality was on this account to be found there. But it did not become the greatest commercial center of the country until

Some of the Water Front of Detroit

after the Erie Canal had opened up central New York and made communication with the West much easier. Chicago is at the southern end of one of the Great Lakes. After railroads were constructed, one terminus of every road which reached that part of the country was naturally located in Chicago, and so that city became the business center of the Middle West.

Detroit was the location of a French fort which had a convenient position in the Great Lakes country and was on a natural line of travel between what is now Canada and the Middle West of the United States. Pittsburgh is situated

where two good sized rivers unite to form a larger one, the Ohio. Through that point many lines of communication must pass. San Francisco has the finest harbor on the Pacific Coast. New Orleans commands the mouth of the Mississippi River.

Los Angeles began with a Catholic Mission. After creeping along as a slow-going Spanish-Mexican town for centuries, it was suddenly discovered by tourists to have an extraordinarily fine climate. Orange-growing was found particularly suited to the neighborhood. Finally the moving picture people learned that the atmosphere was particularly suitable for the making of pictures.

Even our largest communities had small beginnings. But what makes some communities grow while others decay? Those which are founded on something better than temporary wealth are the ones that last. If the surrounding country, or "hinterland," of which a settlement may become the business center, is naturally rich in resources, the place will grow much more rapidly than one that is not so favorably located. Besides, a community which strives from the beginning to have good schools, attractive streets, safe and substantial buildings, is likely to thrive much better than those whose people have as their only object to get rich quickly. Frequently a slow but steady growth really means more to a community than if it becomes famous overnight. Some places, indeed, have no desire to secure a large population.

When some new pieces of land were thrown open for settlement, "boom" towns rose and fell. Often hundreds or thousands of people rushed there. Other mushroom towns sprang up where gold or silver was discovered. Fine examples of quick-growing communities may be found in the oil fields of Oklahoma and Texas. Some of them, such as Tulsa, appear to have become large and permanent cities. But others lasted only a few years, and perhaps only a dozen shacks remain today to indicate where once a bustling settlement existed.

Can you trace the steps by which your community expanded into what it is today? Begin with the first settlement or the first house erected, and observe how first one occupation and then another were probably added to those of the first settlers. Read Chapter IV of Small and Vincent's "Introduction to the Study of Sociology." Does a community need to feel discouraged because it does not grow rapidly? When might rapid growth be a curse? What sort of towns prefer not to become large? If you know of any communities which have "gone back," explain why this happened. Has your town grown much in late years? Why?

36. A Rural Community. — A great deal has been said and written about the rural district. The so-called funny men in the newspapers and on the stage laugh at the farmer and his supposedly crude ways. They do not realize that the man on the farm finds their antics and mistakes still more funny. They forget that over 80 per cent of the financial leaders of America today came from the country districts.

In these recent years when cities have been growing so fast and constantly obtaining more and more conveniences and luxuries, the farmer, we must admit, has not always enjoyed anywhere nearly so many of them. He has been handicapped by poor roads and poor schools, because the average farmer is not rich and does not care to pay high taxes for anything. Besides, to many people farming seems a hard and lonely life. At certain seasons of the year work lasts from daylight to dark and the neighbors may be far away. Amusements such as the city man enjoys may be entirely unknown. Church on Sunday and a county fair once a year have sometimes been about the only recreation that the farmer had.

But rural life has always had advantages too. It has taken people out in the open air. This outdoor life and work has more than made up in many cases for the lack of conveniences and disregard of sanitation in some farm homes. The farmer, except for a few weeks in the year, can almost regulate his own hours of work. In the winter he may have considerable leisure time. If the farmer's neighbors are far away, they at least do not bother him or keep him awake

nights. If he has not been favored with fire and police departments, neither has he been bothered with many burglars; and when one house catches fire it may not menace any others.

But these are simply crude examples of rural advantages. Today many a farm district has almost all the comforts that any city can boast. Paved highways pass the doors of thousands of farmers and make it easy for them and their Fords to go into the business center. There they can exchange their produce for anything they need. Miles and miles of telephone

RURAL DELIGHTS

You cannot keep such pets in the city. It is real fun to look after them, if you only knew it.

wire have been stretched through the rural districts, and they are used even more by the farmer and his family than by the family in the city. Rural free delivery of mail brings letters and papers and packages every day almost to the farmer's door. Excellent farm journals keep him informed about the markets, and help him with all his problems. The consolidated school gives him almost all the educational opportunities that come to the city child until he gets ready to go to college. With his radio he hears the same concerts as the city man. And so the rural community of today need not be a place which people should try to leave.

Sometimes farm boys and girls want to get away into the city. But if they can realize, as already some of them have found, that farming is a business requiring brains as truly as any other, and that life on the farm has a freedom and opportunity that the inhabitant of a crowded city can never

A Comfortable Farm Home

This farmhouse in northern Minnesota has electric lights, piped water, hardwood floors, and most other conveniences of the city — not to mention the ever-busy Ford.

enjoy, there will be fewer and fewer of the young people seeking to find fame and fortune in the city — and not finding it. Some farm boys and girls ought to go to the city. Some city boys and girls ought to come out into the country. The greater use of machinery on the farm has made fewer workers necessary. A slow growth in farm population, or even a slight loss, need not be disastrous, if the conditions of farm life are becoming pleasanter and more comfortable.

If you were to live on a farm, what season do you imagine you would enjoy best? To what extent does the city depend upon the farm? the farm upon the city?

37. A Small Town. — Recently Sinclair Lewis published a story which he called "Main Street." It described a small

town in Minnesota and pictured life there as the most uninteresting and humdrum kind. The chief character of the story tried to arouse the people of the town to take an interest in what she considered the higher things of life. But nobody cared to be any better than he had been, or do much else except work, gossip, and sleep.

Many a person who never spent any time in a small town has formed his opinion of that sort of community from reading

A Rural Scene in Southern California

"Main Street." We must confess that some towns are pretty accurately described by this novel. The people care very little about the appearance of their community. They are not willing to work for its improvement industrially or otherwise. They are satisfied with the most ordinary kind of schools. In a word, we might call them shiftless. In such places the boys have no place to gather except a dirty barber-shop or pool-room or the street corner. The movies are of poor quality and shows may appear on Saturday nights only.

Yet to think of all small towns as being like Gopher Prairie would be a slander. Some of them are outwardly lovely. There is no reason why shows and amusements, even if they do not come every night in the week, should be of poor quality when they do come. Everybody knows everybody else and a general spirit of friendliness and common interest ought to

Courtesy Portland Cement Association

THE BUSINESS STREET OF A SMALL TOWN

Port Washington, Wisconsin.

prevail. Under such circumstances the schoolhouse may be a place of attraction for everybody in the community and the church may be a social center, ministering to every person of its congregation. Life may never be so fast there as in the city, where people are on the go all the time and where the strain of business brings many a man to an early grave. But for solid comfort, for reasonable leisure, and for sanity of mind, there is no more attractive environment than in a small town that measures up to its opportunities.

Try to classify small towns into several groups in accordance with their most notable features. Is any particular type of small town more likely to be desirable or undesirable to live in than an-

other? How did you obtain your acquaintance with a small town, if you do not live in one?

38. City Life and Its Problems. — The growth of cities is a world-wide fact. There were great cities in ancient times as well as today. Babylon, Alexandria, and Rome had hundreds of thousands and perhaps even millions of people at the height of their greatness. The great capitals of modern Europe — London, Paris, and Berlin — multiplied many-fold in the 19th century. So did Tokio in far off Japan.

Americans therefore need not be unduly disturbed by the fact that our cities have grown so rapidly and that so many cities of considerable size are now found within our borders. Sixty-eight places in the country had over 100,000 people in 1920. New York has become second to London in actual population and is often referred to as the largest center of population in the world, counting the suburban areas on western Long Island and in eastern New Jersey. Northern New Jersey, in fact, has been called a great bedroom for New York City.

Many American cities, however, did grow too fast. Their own people did not realize their needs. Not until after the middle of the 19th century did they have fire or police departments worthy of the name, or streets really fit for civilized people to travel. Even our capital city of Washington had important streets which at some seasons of the year were nothing but mud holes.

People crowded by the thousands and hundreds of thousands into regions never laid out to accommodate large numbers. Slum districts grew up, menacing the health not only of the inhabitants of those neighborhoods but of the entire community. When many foreigners came into the country a great mass went into the cities and made congestion still worse. Shady politicians at once made use of the foreign voters. They had the foreigners naturalized as soon as they could, and by using the ignorant voters put themselves into

power, so that they might plunder the city and get rich at the expense of its people.

Now, of course, every civilized community realizes that it has such evils to contend with. It must have good streets, respectable schools, places to play, and protection from fire, burglars, and footpads. It must have public officers of at least ordinary intelligence and honesty. But it is often a struggle to secure these needed improvements.

Yet our cities are our centers of business and trade. Here are the great newspapers upon which we mainly depend for our knowledge of what goes on in the world. Here are supposed to be our best schools and here are situated many of our largest universities. These places really control the future of the country. They cannot feed our people, but almost everything else is in their hands. They can offer every imaginable form of comfort, enlightenment, and amusement. The city has been called " the hope of America." It either is that now or it will be the nation's ruin.

How much do city people know about their neighbors? Is this condition good or bad? Do city people or country people waste more time in getting to and from their places of work? By what right may any one call the city "the hope of America"? In what respects is the growth of cities good for farmers? Where do we find the extremes of social differences, and where are people most nearly on the same footing socially — city, small town, rural district?

39. Community Spirit. — What was the matter with Gopher Prairie? What was the reason that New York in the early '70's was bossed and robbed by Bill Tweed? Why are many rural districts satisfied to go along just as they have gone for a hundred years? Simply because they have never developed community spirit. Each citizen thinks only of himself and his family. He does not care what becomes of Gopher Prairie or New York.

Community spirit is a hard thing to define. It is that attitude on the part of the people which fixes their general standards of thought and life. The right kind makes them

want to have their life in common mean all that is possible. It inspires ambition to bring success and happiness not only to John Smith but to everybody in the community.

Sometimes little tricks of advertising will do much toward getting the right state of mind in a community. Advertisers tell us that no man can expect to be successful in selling goods unless he first "sells himself." That is, if he does not himself think that his goods are high-class, he will have a hard time selling them. So it is with the people of a community. If they are always apologizing for their town, people will take them at their own estimate and the town will never be any better than it is. But if, on the other hand, they set to work to make their town the livest place on the map, that is just about what it will become.

A Live Town

This aëroplane view of Hillsboro, Wisconsin, suggests that the town has been planned and laid out with care.

One town does nothing whatever to advertise itself or bring its people together through any of the twelve months in the year. Another town is holding community picnics and fairs, and inviting church conventions and school meetings to come there frequently. Some towns construct community playgrounds, open tourist camps, and build public rest rooms, keep up attractive libraries — extra expenses, we may

call these things, maybe luxuries. Nevertheless, they offer the little touches which make the life of the small town community attractive. So the town that thinks it is good is likely to make itself so. Rochester adopted this slogan: "Do it for Rochester." That kind of spirit would mean a wonderful advancement for any town or city in the land if we could once get the spirit of it into the great body of its citizens. The old call, "a long pull and a strong pull and a pull all together," is what will bring success to Rochester, or Pittsburgh, or Kalamazoo, or Gopher Prairie.

Does your town or city have a community slogan? If so, is it a good one? If not, try to invent one. Is community spirit a form of patriotism?

We have many types of communities — urban, rural, residential, industrial, centers of general industry, and others. Geography has made some communities great; ambition and enterprise have done much for others. Rural communities, small towns, and great cities have their own sort of advantages and problems. The attractiveness of life in any place depends in great measure upon the spirit of its people.

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Founding of Our Community.

The Progress of Our Community.

Special Problems of Our Community.

A study of the establishment and development of some one of the largest cities of the United States, or of communities of special interest of some kind, such as Brockton, Bridgeport, Atlantic City, Birmingham, Tampa, Salt Lake City, Fairbanks, and the like.

The History of an American Frontier Community.

Resolved, that the country is better than the city as a place for a child to grow up.

READINGS

Lessons in Community and National Life, A–4, A–24, B–24, C–25.

Small and Vincent — Introduction to the Study of Sociology, Chapter 4.

Hotchkiss — Representative Cities of the United States.

Southworth and Kramer — Great Cities of the United States.
Hungerford — Personality of American Cities.
Tufts — The Real Business of Living, Chapters 29–31.
Ross — What Is America? Chapters 6, 7.
Carney — Country Life and the Country School, Chapters 1, 4.
Gillette — Constructive Rural Sociology, Chapters 1, 2, 4, 5–7.
Beard — American City Government, Chapter 1.
Du Puy — Uncle Sam's Modern Miracles, Chapter 7.

CHAPTER VII

THE NATION

"America! thou half-brother of the world!
With something good and bad from every land."
— Bailey.

40. How Nations Form. — The largest of the distinctly social groups to which people belong is the *nation*. You remember the distinction we drew on page 9 between a "nation" and a "state." The state is of course an institution, but since its main object is to provide government, it is political rather than social. But the nation grows naturally out of the ordinary relations of smaller groups with one another. Nations do not come into being all at once, while states have been born in a day by one definite act or decision of their people.

In the history of many nations, especially in ancient times, we can trace clearly the way they have come together. In ancient times the *family* was, as it is today, the foundation of society. But it included not only parents and children but the wives and children of the sons as well as others who might be adopted into the family. Over the whole group the father ruled with absolute power. Often he had the right even to put to death members of the family.

Several families who adhered to the same religious belief or were related by ties of blood would unite into a *clan* or *gens*. Then several clans might be joined to form a *tribe*. The main object of forming tribes was to bring about united action in time of war or other danger. In the history of many communities, tribes joined in a *city state*. Here the principal

objects were usually government and self-defense, and this city state considered itself completely independent just as any country might be today. As the city expanded, it brought under its control neighboring peoples, or was joined voluntarily by them. By reason of marriage between the inhabitants of the original *city* and its added territory a considerable relation by blood would before long exist among its people. Thus a real nation would arise.

Nations themselves rise and fall. When once a nation has been formed it may still have a chance to grow. There are three chief ways by which this growth occurs.

(1) Nations increase by conquest or annexation. Peoples have been compelled to unite with a victorious side in war or to become their slaves. In other cases the union may come about peacefully. It has sometimes been the result of the people of a nation quietly but steadily moving into new territory.

Illustrate this method of growth from the history of the United States and other countries.

(2) The usual way, however, by which nations normally increase is through the greater number of births than deaths among its people. During the dark period of European history which we call the Middle Ages not much growth in population occurred. But since 1800 enormous increases have taken place in the population of almost every civilized country. Great Britain, Germany, and Russia almost or more than doubled during that period, while the population of the United States increased twenty-five times. Only France shows a relatively small gain through this cause. Those who know that the size of families is on the average much less than it used to be might wonder at this great increase. But along with the lower birth rate has come a very much lower death rate, at least among the civilized nations. People know how to take care of themselves and their children better than they used to.

PREPARE AND TAKE WITH YOU ON DAY OF THE TEST. TO BE FILLED LATER.

ILLUSTRATIVE EXAMPLE OF MANNER OF FILLING POPULATION SCHEDULE—FOR APPLICANTS FOR APPOINTMENT AS CENSUS ENUMERATOR.

STUDY CAREFULLY IN CONNECTION WITH INSTRUCTIONS OR OTHER SIDE.

STATE California
COUNTY Fresno 9–129
TOWNSHIP OR OTHER DIVISION OF COUNTY Alameda township

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE—BUREAU OF THE CENSUS (D2–579)

FOURTEENTH CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES: 1920—POPULATION

NAME OF INCORPORATED PLACE Buena Vista village

SUPERVISOR'S DISTRICT NO. 4
ENUMERATION DISTRICT NO. 13
SHEET NO. 3 A
WARD OF CITY

PLACE OF ABODE.				NAME of each person whose place of abode on January 1, 1920, was in this family.	RELATION.	SEX.			COLOR OR RACE.	AGE AT LAST BIRTHDAY.	CITIZENSHIP.			EDUCATION.			NATIVITY AND MOTHER TONGUE.							OCCUPATION.			
																	Place of birth of each person and parents of each person enumerated. If born in the United States, give the state or territory. If of foreign birth, give the place of birth now, or heretofore, the present tongue. (See instructions.)										
																	PERSON.		FATHER.		MOTHER.							
																	Place of birth.	Mother tongue.	Place of birth.	Mother tongue.	Place of birth.	Mother tongue.						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
1	801	42	58	Brown, George P	Head		M	M	W	59	M	1903	No	1903			Yes	Yes	Canada	English	Canada	English	Canada	English	Yes	Cashier	Bank	W	
2				——, Rose	Wife		F	W	W	58	M	1903	No	1903			Yes	Yes	England	English	England	English	England	English	Yes	None			
3				——, George P. Jr	Son		M		W	10	S						No	No	Illinois		Canada	English	England	English	Yes	None			
4				Piner, Emma O	Sister-in-law		F		W	50	D	1903	Pa				Yes	Yes	England	English	England	English	England	English	Yes	None			
5	802	43	59	Ruckle, Jacob	Head	O	F	M	W	65	M						Yes	Yes	Ohio		Switzerland	German	Switzerland	German	Yes	Bookkeeper	Grocery store	W	
6				——, Mary M	Wife		F	M	W	63	M						Yes	Yes	Michigan		Michigan		Michigan		Yes	Farmer	Truck farm	Em	
7				Marot Jean	Boarder		F	M	W	32	S	1916	Al				Yes	Yes	France	French	France	French	France	French	Yes	None			
8	803	44	60	Justice Flora M	Head	O	F	F	W	49	W						Yes	Yes	Pennsylvania		Pennsylvania		Pennsylvania		No	Cook	Restaurant	W	
9				Drotzbach Mary	Daughter		F	W	W	19	M						Yes	Yes	Pennsylvania		New Jersey		Pennsylvania		Yes	None			
10				—— Jules	Son-in-law		M	M	W	25	M	1908	No	1915			Yes	Yes	France	French	France	French	France	French	Yes	Commercial traveler	Hardware	W	
11				—— William J	Grandson		M	W	W	8	S						Yes		New York		France	French	Pennsylvania			None			
12				—— Martha S.	Granddaughter		F	W	W	14	S						Yes		New York		New York	French	Pennsylvania			None			
13				Dunn, Lissie	Servant		F	B	B	20	S						Yes	No	Virginia		Virginia		Virginia		Yes	Servant	Private family	W	
14			46	Mahoney, Jeremiah	Head	R	M	W	W	70	S	1916	Pa				Yes	Yes	Ireland	English	Ireland	English	Ireland	English	Yes	Foreman	Coal mine	W	
15				—— Charlotte	Sister		F	W	W	64	S	1917	Al				Yes	Yes	Ireland	English	Ireland	English	Ireland	English	Yes	Stenographer	Insurance office	W	
16	47	34	56	Lawson, Stephen	Head	R	M	B	B	27	M						No	No	Maryland		Virginia		North Carolina		Yes	Laborer	Nursery	W	
17				—— Lily M	Wife		F	Mu	Mu	22	M						Yes	No	Delaware		Delaware		Maryland		Yes	Laundress	At home	O-A	
18				—— Edwards B	Son		M	Mu	Mu	4/12	S								Pennsylvania		Maryland		Delaware			None			
19																			Here ends the enumeration of Buena Vista village.										
20																													

A Population Schedule

A census enumerator fills out a printed form like this, entering the information about each person as it is given to him.

(3) Some of the nations have added greatly to their population through immigration. This is one of the reasons for the enormous growth of the United States. European countries owe comparatively little to this source, for with them the movements of the people have been out of their borders rather than into them. Some South American countries, such as Argentina and Brazil, have also received a considerable number of immigrants.

Did the United States pass through the stages of formation mentioned in this section? Why?

Look up in a reference book the size of the great nations of today. How is the population of the world distributed among the different continents?

What conditions would set a limit to the population of a country? If a country gets beyond that limit, what might happen?

41. The People of the United States. — When the first formal count of our population was made — by the census of 1790 — a few thousand less than 4,000,000 people were found. Our latest census, that of 1920, discovered well toward 106,000,000. Somewhat over 10,000,000 are negroes, about 200,000 Chinese or Japanese, and about 300,000 Indians.

Our people are not, however, evenly distributed over the country. After every census the Census Bureau reckons the point which it calls the center of population. If we imagine the main body of the United States to be a great plane, this would be the point on which the plane would have to rest in order to keep balanced. This point has moved, since 1790, from the eastern shore of Maryland to the southwestern part of Indiana. It is still, however, a long way east of the geographical center, which is somewhere in Kansas. A very large part of the people live in our northeastern states. The nine largest cities of the country are either on or northeast of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers.

About 85 per cent of our present population were born here, but one parent or both parents of more than one-third were born in a foreign land. Except for those who came

from Mexico, this foreign-born population is also larger in the northeastern section of the country. New York has more Irishmen and Italians than any city of the countries from which those people came, and more Germans and Russians than any city except one or two in those countries.

A number of the facts about our population are interesting, whether valuable or not. For instance, the number of men is somewhat greater than of women. In the western states this is particularly true, while three or four eastern states show the opposite condition. Commercial communities have more men than women. Residential communities have more women than men. Somewhat over half of the people are old enough to vote — that is, more than 21 years of age. The average age of all is about 26 years.

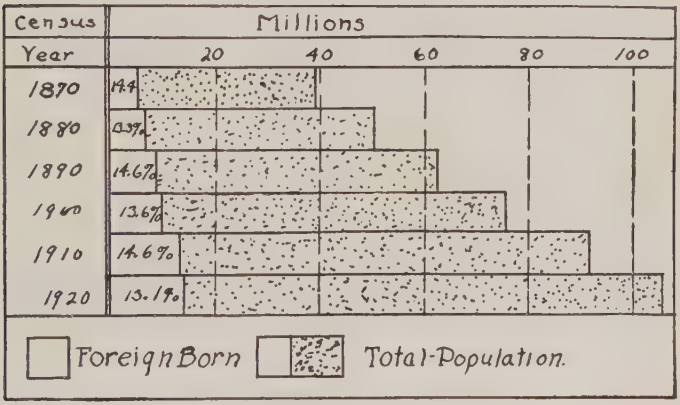
Can you explain why the relative number of men and of women should be so different in the East and in the West?

42. The First Americans. — Perhaps we ought to call the Indians the first Americans, for they were here ahead of the white men. But they were not the founders of the American people of today. No exact records are at hand of the number of white people who lived here when the Declaration of Independence was adopted. We may guess with some reason that there were at that time somewhat over 3,000,000 of them, and at least 85 per cent came from England. Some of the colonies, indeed, had practically nobody but people of English ancestry.

Pennsylvania had a considerable number of Germans, Moravians, Scotch-Irish, Welsh, and a few other nationalities. Some New Yorkers were of Dutch ancestry. In the Carolinas and Georgia were found more Germans and Moravians, Scotch-Irish, and a few French Huguenots. In all the colonies there were about 300,000 negroes, mostly slaves. But it was distinctly an English nation that declared its independence in 1776. There were not enough people of other races here to have any noticeable effect upon the life and thought of the country.

This condition of affairs continued to be the case for nearly half a century. Immigrants do not go freely from one country to another while war is going on. Few, therefore, came during the Revolution or the uncertain period after peace was signed. Then, almost as soon as the United States started business under our present Constitution, the great overturn which we call the French Revolution broke out. Soon all Europe was mixed up in a conflict that continued for over twenty years. And then dissatisfied Europeans once more began to seek new homes across the Atlantic.

43. Later Americans. — For a considerable time, however, those who came were natives of Great Britain. It was nearly



The Make-Up of Our Population

the middle of the 19th century before people began to come in large numbers from anywhere else. For convenience, we often divide our immigrants into two groups, calling them the "old immigrants" and the "new immigrants."

The old immigrants came mainly from northern and western Europe — from Ireland, Germany, Norway and Sweden, Denmark, and Great Britain. From about 1845 to 1880, people from these countries made up the bulk of our immigration. The Irish went mainly into our eastern towns and

cities. At first they did a great deal of the hard manual labor of the country. For some years the "pick and shovel brigade" who helped lay the railroads and pave the city streets were largely Irish. More of the Germans went to the farms and still more, in proportion, of the Swedes, Norwegians, and Danes. This latter group made up a very considerable part of the population of such states as Minnesota and Wisconsin.

The new immigration which has supplied the greater part of our incomers since 1880 has crossed to us from southern and eastern Europe — from Italy, Russia, Poland, Hungary, and the neighboring states. These people now do most of the hard work in our mines and factories, although a considerable number have already been successful as merchants. They seldom go on farms. They have stayed in our large cities and show a decided tendency to form separate quarters or communities of their own. Almost every large American city has its "Little Italy" or "Little Russia." A much larger proportion of these people, too, cannot read or write than was the case with the old immigrants.

Through what ports do the greater part of the immigrants come to this country? Why?

How do the sections of the country which have the largest native American population compare in prosperity and progress with other sections?

How much can you tell about a person's ancestry from his name? Why do foreigners frequently change their names after they get here?

44. Why the Foreigner Comes. — Now, what has been the magnet that has drawn so many millions from their European homes to the shores of the United States? Just as in the days when the English colonies were founded, there has been *religious persecution*. Lately, almost the only people who have come to us on this account are Jews from Russia, but at one time or another very many have come over for this reason. Another impelling cause, especially with boys and men, is the practice in many European countries of requiring *military service* for one or more of the best years of a young

man's life. In Germany and Italy, particularly, the desire to escape this service has caused many to leave the country.

Greatest of all the impulses, however, that brought foreigners to the United States was the idea that *America* was *a land of plenty* where people could make a living much more easily than in the old country. Wages have always been higher here than in Europe, and wonderful stories of the

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AN IMMIGRANT SHIP ARRIVING IN MID-WINTER

ease with which people could get good jobs or even of picking gold up in the streets have attracted immigrants from the days of the founding of Jamestown until now.

The terrible potato famine in Ireland in 1843 and 1844 caused such suffering as to set Irishmen to leaving the country by the hundreds of thousands. Dislike of harsh government has been responsible for many other exiles leaving Europe, voluntarily or otherwise. Because the Revolution in Germany failed in 1848 when it was hoped that a liberal government might be set up there, many Germans decided to come to the new world. Sometimes the idea of liberty that these

people have had has been badly distorted. Yet, after all, if those who have come here have not understood what real liberty means, are not those Americans partly to blame who set them the wrong kind of example?

Sometimes there have been artificial impulses to encourage foreigners to come here. In the days when such things were permitted, American contractors would have agents abroad hire large groups of them, at what Americans would consider

ITALIAN LABORERS ON ROAD WORK

Often this kind of work is the first that an immigrant laborer can get.

starvation wages, and bring them over here in a body to do work that did not call for any particular training. European governments, too, have sometimes tried to encourage their paupers, beggars, and diseased to leave home for some other part of the world. And agents of steamship companies have used unfair means to get passengers to come over here.

Is it natural for some other place to look better than home? Do we ever see this trait among Americans? Is it a good sign? Will a person sometimes make more of himself if he leaves home?

45. Problems That He Raises. — For many years we boasted that America stood with open arms welcoming the oppressed of all the world. Most of us had no fears that we could not accommodate every one who came and many more. Some Protestants, it is true, began to worry because so many of the first Irish and German immigrants were Catholics.

Immigrants have had a great effect upon American labor. A dollar a day looked almost like a fortune to the workers who first came here from Ireland or from Italy, though they sometimes found that American dollars would not buy so many American goods as they would Italian goods. But the incomers were not used to very high standards of living and would put up with conditions that native Americans did not care to endure. This made it hard for native workers to gain their wishes when they tried to get higher wages so as to live more comfortably. And so there has been considerable objection to allowing the foreigners to come in without restraint.

Yet without them it would be hard to get done a very large part of our most necessary work. The immigrant has been represented as saying: "I contribute 85 per cent of all the labor in the slaughtering and meat-packing industries. I do $\frac{7}{10}$ of the bituminous coal mining. I do $\frac{7}{8}$ of the work in the woolen mills. I contribute $\frac{9}{10}$ of the labor in the cotton mills. I make $\frac{19}{20}$ of the clothing. I manufacture more than half of the shoes. I build $\frac{4}{5}$ of the furniture. I make half of the collars, cuffs, and shirts. I turn out $\frac{4}{5}$ of the leather. I make half the gloves. I refine nearly $\frac{19}{20}$ of the sugar. I make nearly half of the tobacco and cigars. And yet I am the great American Problem."

The foreigner usually learns his politics from bad Americans rather than from good ones — from a cheap politician who shows him some little favor or else threatens to have him arrested for some little crime he either did or did not commit. In any case, the immigrant very often knows so little about the history and the problems of our cities, states, and nation that he could hardly vote intelligently if he tried. Some-

times, when it was easier to get foreigners naturalized than it is today, men were made American citizens in masses just before election day and then their votes were used to help the politician who brought this about.

The crowding of so many immigrants into our already overcrowded large cities is another serious problem. If they would only go to the small towns and the farms! But most

Russian Immigrants at Ellis Island

Do they look as if they had in them the making of good American citizens?

of them do not want to do so. Neither have we so far given them sufficient information to enable them to choose wisely as to the best place for them to start work. Sometimes they simply go where they know some one or know that people of their same race are employed. Few of them have money enough to get far away from the port of their arrival. Besides, there is very little land now to be had for taking, while fifty years ago there was much which our government was disposing of practically free. So the foreign quarter altogether too often becomes a slum district, where tenements

are jammed with ten times as many people as should live there, and where it is impossible to keep healthy or decent.

One more problem — the making of the foreigner into a real American — is so important that we shall discuss it later by itself (§ 48).

Do you suppose the foreigner realizes that he causes serious problems here? If Americans went to another country in large numbers, would they cause problems there? Is there any place to which Americans have gone in any large numbers?

Do you think the United States will always be receiving many immigrants?

46. Putting up the Bars. — As long as the immigrants came slowly, and not many of them at that, we thought little about them. We had no law whatever with reference to immigration until 1819. Then we began to keep records of the number of people who came, but paid practically no other attention to them.

But in the last half-century we have set up one slight restriction after another. Those who were insane or sick with contagious diseases were to be kept out. Those who were hired in large numbers to be used by some contractor here — known as "contract laborers" — were excluded. A small tax, which has now been raised to $8, was required of each immigrant. Those who did not seem able to look out for themselves and were "likely to become a public charge" were denied admission. Then anarchists were barred out. The law of 1907 was the

EXAMINING IMMIGRANTS

These men are looking for signs of any contagious disease.

first enactment in regard to immigrants that was planned with real care.

In 1917 another test was set up — the reading test, which requires an immigrant to be able to read forty words in some language or dialect. There was considerable opposition to this law on the ground that you cannot judge a man's character by his ability to read, for most crooks can do that. Three presidents — Cleveland, Taft, and Wilson, vetoed such a law, but it was finally passed over Wilson's veto.

When the fighting of the Great War came to an end, almost all of Europe was in turmoil and discouragement and burdened with enormous debts and taxes. Foreigners started coming here in great crowds. Congress became alarmed. Since it had not made up its mind about our permanent policy toward immigration, it passed a very hastily formed law to exclude a large part of those who would like to come. This law provided that we would admit in one year from any one country not more than three per cent of the number of people born in that country who were here in 1910. This act was first passed for one year, but it was renewed at the end of that time.

Such a purely arithmetical system of keeping out foreigners seems to some people unreasonable. In putting the law into operation a number of very unpleasant incidents have occurred. Some of a family might be admitted within a certain month but not the rest of them, because the quota for that month had been reached. In other cases a considerable number of people who had come across the Atlantic could not get in for some reason and then had to be carried back by the immigration company or wait at the immigration port for the rest of the month.

It has been proposed that the tests which we have set up should be given at the foreign port from which the would-be immigrant expects to leave. This would certainly be a desirable measure, but some foreign countries are not willing to give American consuls the proper authority. So we are

still uncertain as to what we ought to do, sure of nothing but this — that we want to save the good things of America for those who will use them for America's sake. We do not want to be selfish. Neither do we wish to throw open our gates to

IMMIGRANTS ADMITTED

These people have succeeded in passing the various inspectors at Ellis Island and now with their baggage are getting ready to leave for other parts of the country.

those who might destroy the happiness and prosperity that exist here.

What advantages or disadvantages are connected with any of the restrictive provisions mentioned here? Are there likely to be more strikes or less when immigrants are coming here in large numbers?

47. Granting Citizenship. — *What* is a *citizen*, anyway? He is a recognized member of a nation, possessing certain definite rights and privileges, who accepts the authority of that

nation's government. All other persons living in the country are *aliens*. And *who* are citizens? The Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution declares: "All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the state in which they reside."

Only 6,000,000 out of the 17,000,000 foreign-born in the United States have become citizens. And yet the United States is often called the "melting-pot" of the world. Surely, it is not a good thing to have millions of people living under the protection of any flag, yet not professing any loyalty to the government which that flag represents. Since this country has received so many more immigrants than any other, the problem of their relation to our government is just that much more serious than in any other great nation.

It used to be the common practice of nations to assume that everybody born under their flag was one of them and never lost his citizenship in the land of his birth. That was one of the causes of our war with Great Britain in 1812. England has now given up that view and recognizes, as the United States has always insisted, that a person may acquire citizenship in a new country and relieve himself of any obligation toward the country where he was born and that country of any obligation toward him. Some European nations, however, still maintain that they may always demand military service or other support from every person born a citizen among them, if they can get hold of him, no matter where he may be.

In the United States there are today four ways by which a person may become an American citizen:

(1) He may be born in this country.

(2) He may have American parents, regardless of his birthplace.

(3) He may have been one of a body of people given citizenship in a mass, as the people of Louisiana were given it by the treaty annexing that region to the United States, or as the people of Porto Rico were given it by act of Congress.

(4) If foreign born, he may be naturalized, if he is either white or negro.

What does the word "naturalized" mean, as a word? Are you a citizen? Does citizenship depend upon age or sex?

An alien who wishes to become a citizen of the United States must go before some state or federal court that keeps

Courtesy American Steel & Wire Co.

AN ADVANCED CLASS IN CIVIL GOVERNMENT

The twelve members of this class represent eight different nationalities.

permanent records and there file his "declaration of intention." In this he states that he intends to give up all allegiance to the country from which he came and to accept the authority of the United States, besides making several other statements in regard to himself and his past record. This may be done any time after he arrives in the United States, and must be done at least two years before he can receive his final papers and be actually naturalized as an American citizen. Besides, he must live in this country not less than five years before he can be naturalized. If after filing his declaration of intention he delays more than seven years before completing the process, it must be started all over again.

A foreign-born married woman may be naturalized after living here one year, if her husband is already a citizen. Foreign-born children under 21 are considered to possess the same citizenship that their father does.

The granting of citizenship is no longer the easy formality that it once was. Now courts almost everywhere require that an applicant for citizenship shall really know something about the history and government of the United States. There is a Bureau of Naturalization in the United States Department of Labor which tries to keep watch of the foreigners who come into the country, and to coöperate with the schools in any community in giving the foreigner a chance to study American citizenship and history in a night school or in some other convenient way. Such organizations as the Y.M.C.A. and the Knights of Columbus are often of great service in this matter. Then after an applicant has passed such a citizenship course he will be granted the right to call himself a citizen of the United States of America. In some places this ceremony is conducted with considerable dignity and formality.

Should the process of acquiring American citizenship be an easy one? Americans sometimes look upon an American who becomes a citizen of another country as almost a traitor. Is that right?

48. Making Americans. — Being naturalized or even studying the Constitution of the United States will not of itself make people loyal American citizens. Altogether too many immigrants have lived in foreign colonies by themselves and spoken the language of the country from which they came. Even the schools which their children attended have been taught in that foreign language.

Startled by discoveries of such facts, some of our state legislatures have passed laws that English and no other language should be used in giving instruction to pupils below high school grades. The foreign language newspaper, which is altogether too often the only source of information that some of our foreign-born people see, has a great chance to teach

Americanism, but often comes far short of doing what it could. Really one language and only one — and that must be the English language — should be required of every person who makes his home here, just as fast as he can learn it. It is easier to say this than to get it done. But at least we can do away with the training of children in our schools in a foreign tongue.

But is it always the fault of the foreigner that he does not learn to love America? Sometimes the first Americans whom

Courtesy Carnegie Steel Co.

A Handy School for Americanization

This building was put up in the mill yard so that regular instruction might be given to men who could not attend the night schools.

he meets charge him outrageous prices for things that they sell him, and give him entirely false notions of what he must do in his new neighborhood. People who consider themselves gentlemen will refer to foreigners as "dagoes," "micks," or "polocks." The average native American family does not want a newly-arrived foreign family as a next-door

neighbor. In view of all this we surely ought to look ourselves over pretty carefully before we blame the foreigner too much for not falling in love with America and its people promptly.

The foreigner has contributed a great deal toward American prosperity. His work has made possible the accomplishment of great enterprises and industries, as we have noticed. He brought to us a love of art and music such as most native Americans never took time to encourage or develop. The children of a foreign-born family very often cannot be picked out by their language or manner from the children of native families. Surely the case is not hopeless. But as "it takes two to make a bargain," so it takes two sets of people to Americanize foreigners — the foreigners and the Americans of whom they are to form a part. Neither can do it alone.

Let each member of the class work out his "family tree" as far back as his great-grandparents and then let the totals of the nationalities represented in each generation be tabulated. How many white members of the class have no foreign-born ancestor within the scope of this tabulation? It would not be wise to compare such people publicly with other members of the class in regard to the quality of their present-day citizenship; but if you are a "native son" do it for yourself. Can "ancestors" do a person good? Can children of foreign parents do anything toward Americanizing the rest of the family?

Is anything being done in your community for Americanization? Why?

49. The Yellow Man in Our Country. — If we have all these problems growing out of the coming in of white people into the United States, it is not surprising that when the immigrants are of another color the difficulty of the problem is at least doubled. We have had Chinese in the United States ever since the "gold rush" to California in 1849. Those whom we know in the East are generally harmless laundrymen or merchants, and the easterner often cannot understand why the Californian feels so intensely about the coming of the Chinese and Japanese to this country. But the Califor-

nian declares that, even more than the European immigrant, the Chinese or Japanese will work for wages on which a white man would starve, and that if Asiatic laborers were allowed to come into the country there would be no possibility of

A Japanese Fruit Dealer

Market gardening and the growing of small fruits are occupations in which the Japanese have been very successful, both in their own country and on our Pacific Coast.

keeping wages up to a point that would permit white laborers' families to live decently.

Ever since 1882 our laws have forbidden the coming in of Chinese laborers at all, although merchants, students, and travelers are admitted without any difficulty. We have been able to pass such laws because of a treaty with China under which we can regulate the admission of Chinese. So we have

"regulated" it by cutting it off entirely. We have no such treaty with Japan, and therefore have been obliged to go after the Japanese problem in an entirely different way.

California has passed land laws which are meant to keep the Chinese and Japanese from becoming the owners of any

A Silk Weaver at Work

A Japanese factory does not look so much different from one in our own states.

more land than they now have or even from renting it for any long period. The Japanese government believes that such laws are unfair since people of other nations are not so treated. Some "gentlemen's agreements" have been made between the governments of the United States and Japan, by which each government refuses to give passports to laborers wishing

to go to the other country. Naturally this is a very one-sided arrangement, but it helps to save the pride of the Japanese.

To the coming of the fleet of the American Commodore Perry, back in 1854, Japan owed the beginning of the opening of that country to western civilization. For many years there was much evidence of good feeling between the Japanese and the Americans. The Japanese have always kept every pledge which they made to us and we have no reason to doubt the honesty or good intentions of their government. It is too bad that there are people and newspapers in both countries that constantly say disagreeable things about the other country. The surest way to keep peace between our own people and the wonderfully progressive Japanese is to talk peace rather than anything else. We can respect them and their rights here without their coming among us in large numbers and introducing another serious race question.

Can a Chinese or Japanese vote in this country?

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A Sioux Squaw in Gala Array

50. Red Men and Black Men. — Some other situations between people of different races and colors that are sometimes embarrassing we cannot now blame to immigrants. Red men, whom Columbus called Indians, were here long before white men arrived.

For a long time white men in the New World, with very few exceptions, acted as if the Indians had no rights at all. Whatever land the whites wanted, they took for themselves. The Indians, who were usually friendly at first, naturally became suspicious and frequently hostile. In fact one American writer has referred to our treatment of the Indians as a " Century of Dishonor."

But that is no longer true. Indians who are not ready to give up their life in tribes have been recognized as the wards of the United States, and reservations have been set apart on which they may live their lives without unfair interference from white men. If they wish to give up their tribal relations and live in communities with white men, a fairly easy process has been provided by which they can become full-fledged American citizens. There seems now to be no reason why relations of red men and white men should cause any serious difficulties.

THREE GENERATIONS OF NEW YORK INDIANS

Negroes were brought here during the early days of our history and their descendants are here in large numbers. As a result of the Civil War, between 3,000,000 and 4,000,000, who had been slaves, suddenly received their freedom and were promptly given all the rights of citizenship and suffrage which white men possessed under our Constitution. The change was so sudden that it was difficult for both white men and black men to adjust themselves to the

new conditions. Men have not all thought alike about the question of whether the negro should be freely admitted everywhere that white men are, or whether justice will be satisfied if he has equally good treatment, but under separate conditions. Booker T. Washington, one of the ablest men of his race, believed that negroes could best show their right to

Boston Photo News Co.

FEEDING THE CHICKENS

Booker T. Washington believed that the negro could gain respect best by showing that he could make good at earning a decent living. He evidently did not feel himself above doing the things that he urged his fellow colored men to do.

be treated fairly by being able to care for themselves in a capable way. The school which he founded at Tuskegee, Alabama, and a similar institution at Hampton, Virginia, have done very much to improve the ability of the negro people to earn an honorable and comfortable living. On the whole they have made very creditable progress.

In the last few years, a considerable number of negroes have come into the northern states to work in factories, and this has brought about some new features in the rela-

tions of white men and black men. The thing that is most needed is that each group shall try to put itself mentally in the other's place, to understand the other, and to work harmoniously for pleasant relationships. In some places, conferences have been held between leaders of both races with excellent results. Both white men and black men are here, and it would be a disgrace to humanity if they could not find some way of living peacefully in the same communities.

Try to find the names of at least two yellow men, two black men, and two red men who have had a high place among their own race in this country or have rendered some notable public service. Tell something about their life and work.

51. "Higher" Races and "Lower." — The strong nations of today, with the exception of Japan, are white nations. White nations, too, have contributed in the past about all that goes to make up present-day civilization. It is not strange, therefore, that white men should think themselves considerably better than people of other colors and call themselves the superior or higher race and others inferior or lower.

But is it good for any group of people, for whatever reason, to set themselves, even in their own minds, so much above their fellow mortals? The result altogether too often is that the so-called "lower" race feels bitter toward the "higher," while the self-styled "higher" race looks upon the others with a sort of contempt. Now all these people have to live in the same world, and a considerable number of people of different colors live in the same countries. You may have discovered by sad experience how unfortunate it is for cliques or factions which think harshly of each other to spring up in a school or church. Now when you add the difference in color to any other cause of division and multiply it several hundred or thousand times, you may begin to imagine how serious a situation may result.

Lynchings, such as have disgraced our country, are often carried on by mobs of one color inflicting what they call punishment upon a person of another color or race, when

they would not think of doing so if the offender were one of their own race. On general principles lynching is absolutely wrong, because if a person is so plainly guilty that there is no doubt of his deserving punishment, surely we may expect the ordinary

Courtesy Carnegie Steel Co.

A Daily Lesson in Americanization

The raising of the flag and the salute by the children are a part of every day's program.

courts to see that he gets justice. Besides, if one crowd of men can do as they please toward some individual without authority from any officers of the law, why may not another crowd of men take the same liberties? But if this kind of thing is done by the so-called " higher " race, what sort of example are they setting to the others? How can they expect to teach law and order if they do not practice it themselves?

Probably the best thing for all the peoples of the world in this connection is that none of them shall talk about their superiority to any other race. But if any feel in their hearts that they have talent or ability that others do not have, the

stronger, more fortunate race ought to use that talent and those advantages to uplift others, until all can use in the best way the abilities with which the creator endowed them. Booker Washington said very truthfully, "I cannot hold any man in the gutter without staying there myself."

Nations naturally grow by the increase of births over deaths, sometimes by conquest or annexation of territory, and sometimes by immigration. All three elements have contributed to the growth of our own country. We have definitely adopted the policy of excluding certain classes whom we believe to be undesirable, and just now are admitting only a limited number of immigrants of any kind.

Unpleasant conditions also result sometimes from the relations of people of different colors. If the white races are superior to the others, as they believe, a great responsibility rests upon them to uplift the others and set them right examples.

SPECIAL TOPICS

Theories of the Origin of the Indians.

Reservation Indians.

The Immigrant as a Worker.

Resolved, that the principle of the 3 per cent immigration law should be made permanent.

How Immigrants Are Received.

How We Try to Americanize Aliens.

Proposed Changes in Our Immigration Laws.

Resolved, that an alien should be sent back to his home country unless, within five years after coming here, he learns to speak English and declares his intention of becoming naturalized.

READINGS

Ross — What Is America? Chapter 1.
Towne — Social Problems, Chapters 1, 2.
Steiner — On the Trail of the Immigrant.
Antin — The Promised Land.
Riis — The Making of an American.
Daniels — America via the Neighborhood.
Bok — The Americanization of Edward Bok.

Tufts — The Real Business of Living, Chapters 2–5.
Carlton — Elementary Economics, Chapter 8.
Haskin — American Government, Chapter 13.
Du Puy — Uncle Sam's Modern Miracles, Chapters 4, 7, 9, 20.

If you ever read much in the writings of students of sociology you will find the word "adjustment" used repeatedly. By "adjustment" we mean the relations that exist among men and between men and their surroundings. "Maladjustment" is that condition in which right relationship does not exist at all or exists in only a small degree. The great thing that society is working for is happiness. This does not mean mere selfish pleasure, for happiness results much more surely from right living than from selfish living. Now what conditions are most likely to promote this sort of happiness which we are seeking? What conditions will help best to make the home, the school, the church, the community, and the nation fulfil the work which they are particularly intended to do? Among such conditions we may suggest Intelligence, Health, Security, Beauty, Convenience, Comfort, and Coöperation. Let us try to discover just what each of these means and how it may aid in bringing about the betterment of our social relationships.

HELPFUL CONDITIONS IN SOCIAL LIFE

CHAPTER VIII

INTELLIGENCE

"Wisdom is the principal thing: therefore get wisdom; and with all thy getting, get understanding." — *Solomon.*

52. Why Intelligence Is Needed for Good Citizenship. — Intelligence and knowledge are not the same. *Knowledge* is the store of facts or information that we may accumulate. *Intelligence* is the ability to apply our knowledge and our talents to the conditions in which we find ourselves. A person's head may be stuffed with facts which are utterly useless in helping him to live any better or more successfully. Much knowledge will be very useful, of course, and it is on this knowledge that the intelligent person must base most of his work.

Citizenship includes a great variety of interests. One duty of most citizens is to vote for the candidates and policies that will best promote the welfare of his country. Another duty of a citizen is to act fairly, justly, and wisely toward his associates and his neighbors. Still another is to earn a decent living for himself and to provide for his family.

Now a man of intelligence can do all these things far better than the ignorant man or the man who trusts to luck. Perhaps a person can live without being intelligent, but he can surely live better if he is intelligent, and can satisfy his needs and wants far more successfully. The intelligent citizen will vote thoughtfully and wisely. He will strive to discover the needs of his community and the best way to meet them. He will associate himself with movements for the betterment of him-

self and his fellow-citizens. He will strive to obtain for himself and his family the best living he can honestly give them.

If you have read or can get a copy of the list of questions which Thomas A. Edison prepared for people who wished to be employed by him, look them over and see whether you think they are a real test of a person's intelligence. Is an intelligent person a "knocker"? Will a selfish person be intelligent? Will an intelligent person be selfish?

53. Ways of Becoming Intelligent. — If it is so desirable that every citizen should be intelligent, how may he become so?

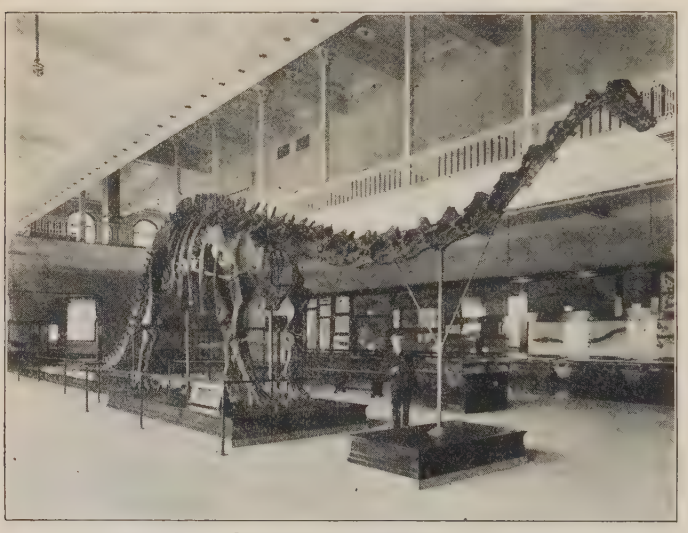
MELLON INSTITUTE

This building was constructed and its work is supported for the purpose of carrying on special studies that will aid in improving processes of manufacturing.

It is easy to say that he may go to school and secure all the knowledge and training it will give him — and that is considerable, if he will take all he is entitled to have. Now he may attend evening classes connected with the public schools or maintained by private agencies of various kinds. He may take "extramural" or "extension" courses offered by colleges. But after eight, ten, or twelve years in a school most people's

formal education is over. Are they then at the end of their rope as far as becoming intelligent is concerned? By no means.

Education is a process that may go on an entire lifetime. If one seeks the learning he can find in print, the libraries will afford him thousands of opportunities. Newspapers and



DIPLODOCUS CARNEGIEI

The skeleton of this enormous prehistoric animal is only one of the thousands of things you can see in this museum.

magazines may come through the post office to his own table. Books for his own library shelves are always to be obtained.

Every community that pretends to be anything provides for lectures by travelers and by people who are specially qualified to talk about some vital subject. Often one may learn directly from conversation with people whose experience or information is broader than his own.

Those who are fortunate enough to be able to travel find in this a wonderful means of enlightenment. It is so much more effective to see people and things with your own eyes than simply to read about them, no matter how vividly an author

pictures the scenes he is trying to describe. One does not have to travel long distances, either, to obtain information and to make observations that will help to increase his general intelligence.

One of the Wonders of the Yosemite Valley, California

The water drops, in three leaps, 2526 feet.

Best of all, for some of us, is that sort of intelligence that comes from actual experience. If we take part in some community enterprise, or even undertake something on our own account, the very effort that we make helps us to discover how a thing should be done. Even if we make mistakes, we learn how not to do a thing. It is a high compliment to a man to say that he never makes the same mistake twice. Whatever one's opportunity for formal schooling — and this is far greater today for everybody than ever before — no one in this day in the United States of America may truthfully assert that he has no opportunity for becoming intelligent.

In order to become intelligent must a person assume that he is ignorant? What personal attributes or qualities will help in gaining intelligence?

54. Libraries. — "Of making many books there is no end," said Solomon. If that was true in his day, what would he say now when thousands of books are published every year? But

with all these books the knowledge and intelligence that they may help to provide would be greatly limited if every person had to own a copy of every book himself. Many could not afford to do so and many more would not.

But now in every up-to-date community there is found at least one library. In the old days these were usually private

Carnegie's Finest Library, Pittsburgh

libraries owned by well-to-do or learned men. Still there are wonderfully large and valuable libraries maintained by our colleges and universities and by private gifts, which are available chiefly for the members of these institutions or learned societies. But the public library is also found almost everywhere.

Sometimes the building which houses this library has been given by the generosity of a wealthy man of the community. Andrew Carnegie's name has been preserved for generations to come by his widespread munificence in putting up libraries. Of course a cynic might say: "He could not take his money with him when he left; therefore what credit is it to him?" But we might answer that there have been other wealthy men who did not seek to benefit anybody except themselves and their families.

Usually public libraries are maintained wholly or partly by public taxes. Before Carnegie gave a library-building to a town, he usually insisted that the town should pledge a certain amount of money to keep the library going. New books have to be bought, the salaries of attendants and librarians have to be provided, and the building has to be kept in repair. But a public library is worth to a community many times what it costs.

The work of a library today is exceedingly varied. It keeps on reference some books, such as dictionaries, encyclopedias, and indexes, which many people may want to use. It lends other books to individual borrowers. It usually has a reading room where the important magazines and newspapers are found. It often keeps on exhibition pictures, maps, charts, and models of various kinds. All large libraries have a children's department where special effort is made to get children started at reading the right sort of thing instead of the trash or impossible stories which they might otherwise form the habit of reading. A weekly children's hour, when talks are given or stories told by people who know how to interest children, forms an important part of the work of many libraries.

So valuable are the public libraries to citizens of every class and locality that several states are trying to provide their country communities with all the library advantages possible. From the state capital, the state university, or some other central place, they send out traveling libraries which may be kept for a few weeks or months in one neighborhood and then are passed on to some other locality in exchange for books that have been used there. Sometimes, in a particular county, a central library is maintained and wagons or trucks are sent out every week to all parts of the country.

Thus many people living on farms have even better facilities for getting what they wish than some in the city, for the library is brought to their own door, so to speak. In some sections the farm families have been found so ready to make

use of opportunities of this kind that traveling libraries have been set up by private individuals, and some men have made their living by furnishing these facilities in rural districts.

What qualities should a good librarian possess? How freely should school children or the public at large be allowed to have access to and handle the books themselves? How well are you acquainted with your local library?

The Library, Columbia University

The library is one of the most useful parts of a present-day university.

55. Newspapers and Magazines. — More people, we suppose, read the newspaper than anything else. Almost anybody can afford to have it left at his house in the morning or bring it home in his pocket at night. It is the average man's most common source of information.

But there are newspapers and newspapers. Some make an honest attempt to tell those things that are important and to present to their readers a fair story of what is going on in their own community and elsewhere, even to the farthest parts of the world. On the editorial page they discuss and analyze the principal characters and events of the day and give their views

about them. Such newspapers deserve the thanks and support of good citizens.

But other newspapers tell only that part of the news which they wish to tell. They make a great display of scandal and crime. The person who commits a notorious evil deed becomes known through these papers to everybody. They appeal to the crudest and lowest tastes of men and women. Some newspapers of this kind have very large circulations.

Should a newspaper's policy be to give the people that sort of news which they ought to have to make them intelligent citizens, or the kind of news which some of them seem to want and which will sell the paper? How important to a newspaper is its advertising? Should a newspaper allow the policy of its editors and the stories in its news columns to be influenced by its big advertisers? What do you think of endowing a newspaper so that it need not depend upon advertising for its support? Should a city which could afford to do so maintain a municipal newspaper?

Magazines, too, are of various kinds. There is the weekly publication which takes on some of the functions of the newspapers. *The Literary Digest*, *The Independent*, *The Outlook*, and similar publications go into thousands of homes every week. Others similar in purpose are published monthly. Some of these are sold by the hundreds of thousands. This kind of magazine seeks to summarize the most important events of the time and to present articles on special topics by worth-while writers and to review the books of the day or quote from valuable printed articles.

Other magazines appeal to certain particular classes of people. We have the *National Geographic Magazine*, the farmers' publications, the women's magazines, religious papers, trade journals, sporting papers — in fact, almost every interest which attracts the attention of any large number of people has one or more publications to represent it.

What newspapers do your family take, and why? If you were limited to one magazine which one would you select and why?

The responsibility that the editors and publishers of these magazines ought to feel is tremendous. No one can tell how

far-reaching is the influence which they have and the impression they give of the things they report. To prevent misleading accounts from appearing in newspapers, most publishers, for their own protection and advantage, are connected with some great news agencies such as the Associated Press, the United Press, or the International News Service. These agencies have representatives in every part of the country or the world, who send in to a central headquarters the items of news which they gather. Then this news goes out to the papers which pay the news association for the right to receive it.

We ought to encourage those publishers and editors who seem to be trying to tell the truth in a fair and unbiased manner by subscribing to their publications in preference to the sensational newspapers and magazines whose aim is only to sell. Pictures play a big part in the publications of today, and rightly, for what we see through pictures makes a stronger impression on us than what we see in print. A publication which is all pictures, however, makes an appeal to only one side of a person's intellect.

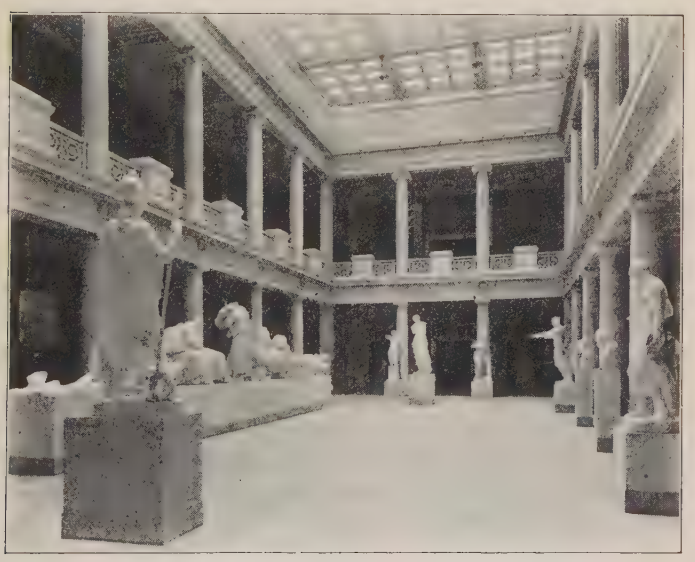
How much time each day should a person spend reading a newspaper? How should he divide his reading among books, magazines, and newspapers? What have you observed about people's practices in this matter?

Why are newspapers required to publish the names of their editors and publishers? Give some examples of benefits rendered or harm done by newspapers or magazines.

Make a list of ten newspapers and ten magazines which you would judge to have a large circulation. Discuss their most noticeable qualities. Do you think they can all be equally trusted? Count the inches of space that your newspapers give on an ordinary weekday to politics and public problems, to business matters, to crime and gossip, and to sports. If your papers differ in the proportion of space which they give to each, does that lead you to any conclusion regarding their desirability?

56. Intelligence through Culture. — Cultured people are too few in most communities. Do you ask what *culture* is? It is that quality which enables people to appreciate the finest and best elements in the various interests of men and women. Culture enables a person to distinguish between what is showy and

what is really good, whether it be in houses or dress or any form of so-called art. The cultured person prefers that kind of music that appeals to his finer senses instead of that which expresses itself in mere noise and motion. "Jazz" may be his seasoning, but not his regular diet. Museums, concerts, the works of real



In the Carnegie Museum, Pittsburgh

Here are found copies and models of some of the most famous works of art of ancient times. One could spend days in this museum, seeing something new every day.

artists in literature or on the canvas, or with the chisel, make their appeal particularly to those who seek culture as well as information.

Do you ask how culture makes people more intelligent? If it brings to people the ability to judge what is really good, to discriminate between the real and the pretended, to desire the best in everything rather than to put up with things that are not worth while, surely it adds to the intelligence of a community and of its citizens. The community and the individual that

know what the best is will not be satisfied with anything else if they can obtain it at a reasonable expenditure of effort and money. They will be able to judge the conditions that prevail in their day and in their locality and form a much safer opinion as to what should be done away with in their activities and their surroundings.

We need not confuse culture and manners. Manners for the individual are outward forms. They may be the result of true culture within, for the cultured person and cultured community have good manners. But culture is a deeper thing. The cultured person and the cultured community will do the proper thing and will rightly appreciate the best things.

Is an intelligent person always cultured? Can culture be taught? What opportunities do you have to improve the cultural side of your life?

Intelligence is essential to good citizenship. It is based on common sense, but is promoted and broadened by reading, by travel, by association with others, and by all sorts of personal experiences. Books, newspapers, and magazines contribute much toward it. Intelligence brings culture, and an intelligent, cultured patriot is the finest sort of American.

SPECIAL TOPICS

A Plan for Continuing My Education after I Leave School.
Great Public Libraries.
The Newspapers That Come to Our Town.
Famous Magazines of Yesterday and of Today.
Artists Whose Works We Ought to Know.
Good Music and Great Musicians.
Advertising, Its Forms and Its Effects.
Resolved, that the press is the most powerful of all influences upon the opinions of adults.
Resolved, that a person who endowed a newspaper would be doing a greater service than one who endowed a college.
Andrew Carnegie and His Benefactions.

READINGS

Lessons in Community and National Life, A–11.
Beard — American Citizenship, Chapter 18.
Leavitt and Brown — Elementary Social Science, Chapter 8.
Haskin — American Government, Chapters 16, 23, 24.
Marriott — Uncle Sam's Business, Chapters 28, 29.
Gillette — Constructive Rural Sociology, Chapter 16.

CHAPTER IX

HEALTH

" A well-behaved mind grows only in a well-treated body. It is true that far-seeing hygiene can prevent more crime than any law."
— Münsterberg.

57. The Value of Health. — Probably most of you can remember all too painfully some time when you were sick. You know how helpless you were and how impossible it was for you to think clearly or to do anything comfortably. A sick person cannot do justice to himself or to anything that he undertakes. He can have little joy in life, nor hope to gratify any ambition to do great things. Some men, like Robert Louis Stevenson, have accomplished much in spite of constant weakness and ill health, but they are the exceptions. Besides, we cannot tell how much more or even better work they could have done if they had not been handicapped by their physical condition.

We have just begun to realize the necessity of giving attention to this side of our lives. Now we believe that it is a part of the work of the school to make and keep people healthy in body as well as healthy in mind. There is much truth in that proverb of Solomon's, " A living dog is better than a dead lion." The sick man may even be an actual burden on the community because as long as he is alive some one will have to look after him, and his nurse or watcher will not have the chance to do some other piece of valuable service.

If you were to arrange these " helpful conditions " in order of importance, would you put health or intelligence first? Give examples of things that an unwell person might be able to do, and then show wherein under such conditions the results of his work might be far short of his best. Do health and beauty go hand in hand?

In how many ways may an individual's ill health harm his community?

58. People's Attitude toward Disease. — It once seemed to be taken for granted that sickness was simply something to be put up with and perhaps was a sort of providence that could not be escaped. Until within a comparatively short time the study and practice of medicine were very crudely carried on. Many serious mistakes resulted.

We still find many examples of this ignorance of what to do in case of illness — or is it something else than ignorance? People who know they are not well, instead of going to some reputable doctor, will take quart after quart of some highly advertised patent medicine. In the long run they probably pay more for this stuff than they would have to pay for the advice or prescriptions of a doctor who knows his business. Yet the sale of these patent medicines has made some people enormously wealthy. The statement "Has cured others, will cure you" may have some logic in it; but an intelligent doctor ought to be the one to decide what medicine you will try because it has helped somebody else.

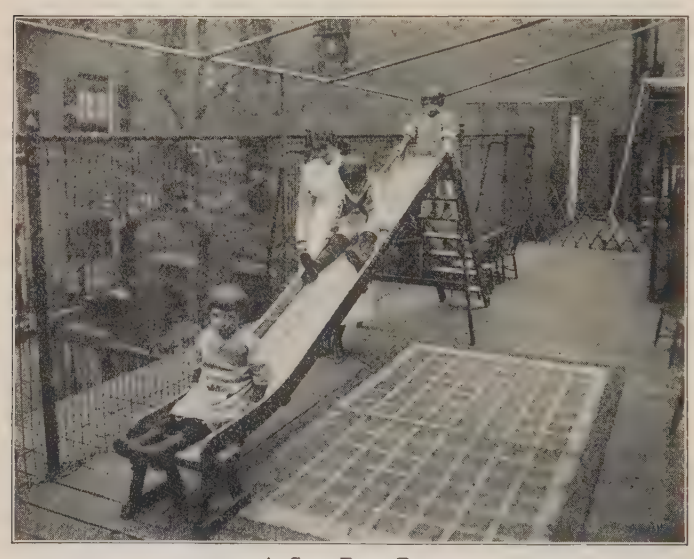
Still another feature of people's attitude toward disease is carelessness. Some people will make no attempt to avoid exposing themselves to an infectious or contagious disease. Sometimes, parents will deliberately let Johnny play with Charley when Charley has the measles, arguing that Johnny will get them sometime, anyhow. Physicians tell us today, however, that there is no reason why any child should have to suffer from the whole catalogue of children's diseases, and that parents are guilty of almost criminal misconduct when they deliberately allow their children to go into danger.

Yet undoubtedly people do think more sanely about disease than they once did. They do, on the whole, probably take better care of themselves. At least the average person understands more about the laws of health, and this understanding means that a considerable number of people will try to obey those laws. In times of epidemics and other scares, people in general are willing

to have the public health authorities tell them what ought to be done. If they would only listen more closely when no epidemic is around, there would be still less sickness and suffering.

Why do boys smoke cigarettes when they know that these "coffin-nails" do nobody any good and most people positive harm? How far does dress affect health? Do most people wear too many clothes?

59. Health and Our Surroundings. — The place where we live makes a difference with our health as truly as with our home



A City Play Roof

Not on the ground but on the roof of a house do these children find the best place to play.

life. Dirty, thickly-crowded tenements in a low-lying portion of a city are almost certain breeders of disease. We do not now believe that disease germs are created by filth, but we are sure that filthy surroundings encourage the development of disease germs in the human body. From such places also come the mosquitoes, flies, and rats which carry diseases from one person to another. From dirty neighborhoods an epidemic once

started may spread into the more attractive portions of a community and cause untold harm before it is brought under control. There are still some things that doctors do not know about the way diseases spread.

If, however, instead of being obliged to work from eight to twelve hours a day in a grimy, noisy factory and then coming home to a three-room tenement in which six or eight people live, a worker could return to a pleasant little cottage surrounded by enough grass and open space to give him access to the open sky and invigorating breezes, how much better it would be for his family and the whole community! No city has any right to call itself sensible or up to date that tolerates slums, if there is any possible chance of getting better places to put its workers after their day's toil is over.

We might suppose that country life would mean that everybody was healthy. Yet an even larger percentage of sick and broken humanity is found in the country districts than in the city. Now why is this? The farmer has plenty of open air. He has plenty of water. He can give himself plenty of good food. But he often closes his bedroom windows tight and keeps the air out when he sleeps. He sometimes gets his drinking water from a well into which the barnyard drainage finds its way. The best potatoes or apples or corn are taken to market to be sold and the family eat the leavings. Ill health or lowered vitality due to these causes can be done away with, but many a farmer needs to be taught how to make use of the favorable surroundings in which he lives. Health is surely one of the qualities which may be affected by both our inheritance and our environment.

Do house furnishings have any effect on the health of people? Is there any sense in putting heavy curtains over windows? Why does the housewife swat the fly?

60. Why Governments Must Look after Our Health. — One reason for such activity is the old, old one — we won't do it ourselves as individuals. Experience teaches us that we must have public officers to keep people from doing things that they know

they ought not to do, and to protect those citizens who want to keep healthy and are willing to abide by proper laws and regulations. We usually wait, too, even if we are rightly disposed about this business, until some board of health gives us instructions how to act. If we were more careful ourselves, we should not have to pay so much in taxes to enable the government to help us keep well.

Governments can take measures to protect health which individual citizens cannot take and which could seldom be as well done by private coöperation. To construct a sewer, for example, is usually a government's job. An individual could dig a cesspool in his own back yard, but unless some qualified officer kept watch of him that very cesspool might become a menace to the entire neighborhood. Government officers, too, can undertake investigations and make experiments which very few individuals could afford to make, even if they had the brains to do so.

Our national government, under ordinary circumstances, cannot directly do very much toward protecting our health. There is a Public Health Service in the Department of the Treasury which gathers information from all parts of the country and issues bulletins from time to time giving the results of their discoveries and making recommendations to people. The agents of the Public Health Service examine immigrants before they are allowed to enter the country to see if they are suffering from any diseases which they are likely to give to some one else. They sometimes set up quarantine rules at certain ports to aid in keeping out disease. If necessary they will coöperate with state boards of health in dealing with a serious situation.

Every state, however, has a very direct responsibility in this matter of health. It maintains a state board of health under that name or some other which has general authority over the enforcement of state health laws. This board of health, or the commissioner of health, if that is the title of the chief official, may have authority to establish a quarantine over the whole state and close up movies, schools, and other places of

assemblage if that seems advisable in order to stop the spread of an epidemic. State boards, too, are usually given a good deal of authority in the rural districts of a state because there are fewer local officers to attend to this important matter. They

HEALTH EXPERIMENTS

A professor at the Mellon Institute in Pittsburgh feeds each pen of rats a different kind of food, so that he can judge the value of each article from the standpoint of effect on physical development.

often test samples of milk and of water which are or may be used for drinking purposes. Then they forbid the sale or use of any coming from dangerous sources.

In the larger communities, however, the most responsibility for protecting public health rests upon the department of health, which under some name forms a branch of every city government. This department does the same sort of thing for the people of a city as the state department does for a state. Since in any city there are likely to be crowded tenement districts or slums, the activity of a health department may have to be very great.

Both cities and states may maintain hospitals to care for people suffering from tuberculosis or contagious diseases of some kind.

Why do we have to have laws forbidding the use of a roller towel or common drinking cup in public places? Are there anti-spitting laws in your community? If so, are they enforced?

Should the law compel every one to be vaccinated?

Did your community ever undertake a "clean-up week"? Does it need one?

61. Elements Necessary to Health. — Do you expect us to mention medicines and the advice of physicians? Perhaps we ought to, for doctors may do much to prevent sickness and relieve suffering. But if people see to it that they are surrounded and provided with those conditions which encourage good health, there is an excellent chance that they will have it.

We must have at home, in the school, in the factory, the church, everywhere that people live or come together, plenty of sunshine, light, and fresh air. The temperature of the air has a great deal to do with our health. Altogether too many people in cold weather keep their offices or houses or shops much too warm. This unnecessary heat weakens people. When they go out they feel the change much more than is necessary and are much more ready to contract somebody else's cold or other ailment.

The things that a person eats or drinks also affect vitally his health. Pure water and pure food, enough of both but not too much, especially of the latter, are exceedingly necessary. Besides, people must avoid getting into habits that are ruinous to their physical strength and power of resistance, morally or physically. Late nights and loss of sleep are disastrous. The surroundings in which we live must be kept in sanitary condition and made attractive.

Altogether too many people make no effort to learn the simple laws of health themselves. They seem to think that there is some dark mystery about the physician's job, which can be solved only by some sort of magic. Simple rules of health, and the knowledge of how to recognize the symptoms of common dis-

eases and what to do when symptoms of illness appear, could all go into the curriculum of any school from the sixth grade up, and ought to be there.

What are the most common diseases in your community? Is there a good reason why these should be the most numerous?

62. Securing Pure Air. — As far as it concerns buildings, this is the problem of ventilation. In our dwellings, unless they

WE GOT THEIR GOAT

These are city children, but they are fortunate enough to live in a section where there is room for them to get out in the open air and have a good time.

are the detestable tenements or apartments in which people in our cities so often crowd themselves, it is usually just a question of opening the windows. The old notion that night air was unhealthful was responsible for many foolish customs in our older families.

In the school or the public meeting-place, providing pure air may mean installing rather complicated and expensive means of ventilation by fans or some such artificial method. It is quite an undertaking to arrange the coming in of warm air and the drawing out of bad air so that the entire room will be kept at about an even temperature all the time. Yet it can be done.

Sometimes the air is washed by passing through a series of water sprays and then drawn through driers to take out some of the moisture. No school official should be satisfied with poorly ventilated rooms if there is any possible way of introducing improvements. Every modern factory takes good care about this matter.

In some cities the local law-makers have realized how important it is that people shall have pure air and have forbidden the owners of lots to put up buildings covering more than a certain per cent of the entire space. In some cases they also forbid hall bedrooms and similar places which it is almost impossible to ventilate. Keeping the streets clean and reducing the amount of coal-smoke also help much in giving a community pure air. In

A Scene at a Reservoir

This reservoir supplies water for Cumberland, Maryland.

pure dry air tuberculosis germs do not thrive. For this reason we have in many places special open-air schools for children who have weak lungs.

What is the proper temperature for a house or a schoolroom?

63. Providing Pure Water. — The "old oaken bucket," it has been said, is fine poetry, but too many times it has brought up water that was wholly unfit to drink. Every spring or brook

or other source of water supply which a farmer or a city family or community thinks of using should be carefully and frequently tested to determine whether it contains bacteria that will cause disease. Whole towns have been made sufferers from typhoid fever that came through impure water. If you are ever in doubt about the quality of the water you have to drink, the safest plan is to boil it. Then you can be pretty sure that it will be free from dangerous germs.

Big cities have a very serious problem in providing drinking water for their people. They must get the water from some very large source of supply. If they are situated on a river, the river may be the easiest place to obtain it. But how can the people be sure that this river water is fit to drink? Perhaps the drainage from all kinds of factories, sewers, and other unpleasant places has been sent into this stream. When this is the case the only solution is the filtration plant.

Many of our large cities have constructed such plants and they have meant life instead of death to thousands of our people every year. Pittsburgh, for instance, once had a worse death-rate than any other large city in the country from typhoid fever. It put in a fine filtration plant and now typhoid rarely occurs. Any one who followed the introduction of filtered water through that city would have all the proof he needed of the value of filtration.

Filtration is a fairly simple process. It simply means causing the water to pass through some substance, usually sand, which will draw out the impurities. Sometimes it is also treated with chlorine or some other chemical to make the work more thorough.

Some of our large cities have constructed exceedingly costly water systems. New York gets its water many miles away up in the Catskill Mountains. Los Angeles has a system by which it brings pure mountain water from the Owens River through an open canal and a great conduit over 200 miles into the city. Chicago and Cleveland both get their water from the lakes on which they are situated.

Supplying pure water is one of the biggest enterprises that the city undertakes. It would not be necessary to filter all the water that would be used in factories or even houses for other purposes than drinking; but to have two systems of water

Aërating Fountain, Ashokan Reservoir, New York

This is one way to purify water.

supply, with the amount of piping each would require, would be very expensive. The only practical way, therefore, is to filter the whole supply and to distribute the water for all uses through the same mains and branch pipes.

Do you know any people who use boiled water? Why do they use it?

64. Obtaining Pure Food. — Until within a comparatively few years, we did not have at all satisfactory means for making sure that the food we ate was either what it pretended to be or of good quality. Now three different agencies are at work to protect us from impure or poisonous food products. The national government has in its Department of Agriculture a Bureau of Chemistry, which makes many tests and investigations of food

products. You understand that it is only those food products that are carried in interstate commerce — that is from one state to another — that the national government can have anything to do with. In 1906 the Foods and Drugs Act was passed, which forbade the shipment in interstate commerce of goods which were not labeled so as to make clear what all their ingredients were, or goods which contained certain harmful chemicals. The

Courtesy Swift & Co.

A Pork Cooler

Meat is kept in places like this before being shipped to dealers.

national Department of Justice enforces this act against violators, after investigations are made by the Bureau of Chemistry.

The Bureau of Animal Industry, in the national Department of Agriculture, has charge of the inspection of animals in the great stock yards and of meat sold by the enormous packing houses of Chicago, Omaha, Kansas City, and other middle western places. In fact, everywhere that meat or live cattle are found which are carried in interstate commerce, some federal inspector will be on duty.

In the states the state boards of health frequently have some responsibility in the matter of pure food. In state govern-

ments, too, we frequently find bureaus of dairy inspection or meat inspection or food inspection, which try to keep watch of the goods produced or sold within that state. City governments also, if the city is large, maintain similar agencies.

One rather difficult but very important activity is the inspection of milk. Usually the state has to do something about this, because today very little of the milk used in a large city comes from cows that are kept there. Most of the milk which the big cities use is gathered from dairy farms scores or hundreds of miles away. The lives of babies, in particular, depend upon the purity of the milk which is fed them.

Most milk sold in cities now is pasteurized. That is, it is subjected to a temperature of 140 degrees for a half-hour. In this way the dangerous bacteria are disposed of. Keeping the barns respectably clean where the cattle are kept, and seeing to it that the establishments in the towns which bottle the milk and distribute it to our homes are kept in sanitary fashion, are other difficult but very necessary undertakings.

How to get good food products, especially garden truck and green vegetables, from the farms where they are raised to the families that are to eat them, is something that has not yet been worked out to everybody's satisfaction. The farmer now knows enough about city prices so that if he lives near the city you will seldom be able to buy things much more cheaply at the farm than in the city. But the farmers who do live long distances away from town have to depend upon commission merchants to sell their goods. To keep these goods and to keep meat from spoiling on the long journey to our towns has brought about a system of refrigeration which requires the construction of cars particularly for this purpose.

But the commission merchant or somebody else between the producer and the consumer usually succeeds in tacking enough on to the price so that the city user of farm products pays anywhere from four to twenty times what the farmer receives for them. Some better system of marketing our food products must be worked out, if all our people are to have the good fresh

fruits and vegetables that should be among the most healthful items on our bill of fare.

Still another feature of the pure food problem is getting it ready for the table. The housekeeper who does not know about marketing will make many mistakes in buying — either in buy-

A Clean Grocery Store

ing good stuff at needlessly high prices or poor stuff without knowing it is poor. Here is where the schools must help our girls if their parents do not train them properly. Intelligent marketing and healthful cooking mean much for our physical well-being and happiness.

Who would be satisfied with a wife who knew nothing about cooking? What does the word "calories" mean, as applied to food? Do most people read the labels on goods that they buy? If not, is the Foods and Drugs Act of any value?

Can you estimate how many people had a part in furnishing your breakfast? What mistakes in the kind or amount of food used are made by people of your acquaintance? Would your own food habits be a good model for others?

65. Disposing of Wastes. — There are many kinds of waste material which will produce conditions dangerous to our health if they are not disposed of. There is liquid waste, such as rain water and the drainage from kitchens and bathrooms; and there are the various kinds of solid waste matter — ashes, which we all know about, and garbage and rubbish which every household knows but does not always separate. Different communities have their own methods about handling this rather unpleasant but inevitable problem. Small towns and rural districts are likely to expect every family to look out for the matter itself. The larger the community becomes, the more necessary it is for the community as a whole to make provision for the work.

On the farm, rain water is generally allowed just to flow off naturally with such assistance as roadside ditches and occasional drain pipes in the field may give. The disposal of sewage, or perhaps we had better call it house refuse, has also been altogether too often neglected. It used to be the common thing for a little wooden drain to take the dishwater and washing water from the kitchen a few feet from the house, and let it run on the ground. The outdoor toilet has been altogether too conspicuous on many a farm, and is often inconvenient and usually dirty.

Now there is little reason why this sort of thing need to continue on any farm. Almost every farm has or can obtain a water supply that will take the water at least into the second floor of a farmhouse, even if it needs the assistance of a pump. When this is the case, there is no excuse for the absence of as convenient a bathroom and toilet as any city home can have. The disposal of the kitchen water may call for a little more extensive piping than once was given to it. All this waste matter can run into what is known as a septic tank, which, if properly constructed, will bring about the necessary purification in a very short while.

The larger village community and the city will need to have a system of underground sewers to dispose of the rain water and other liquid waste. It is usually considered altogether too ex-

pensive to have a separate system of disposal, and so the rain water and other waste are carried out through the same pipes. Where a city is situated on the bank of a river, the most convenient thing to do is to let the sewers empty into the stream. But this is not always the safest method, for the water may be completely polluted by what it receives. While the stream will

Courtesy U. S. Steel Corporation

SPRINKLING FILTERS FOR SEWAGE DISPOSAL

purify itself after traveling some distance, another community may have to take a chance on your community's sewage.

In some communities they have a system of sewage disposal in which the sewage is spread over a considerable amount of ground so that the air can get at it. This is feasible only in not too thickly settled communities where the air is reasonably dry. Some other places, such as Baltimore, have a special sewage disposal plant where air is artificially forced through the waste matter. After being thus purified the sewage can be disposed of for making fertilizer or some other similar use.

When the community attempts to be responsible for handling the solid wastes such as ashes, garbage, or rubbish, there are two things it can do. It can employ its own workers to collect and get rid of the waste material or it can make a contract with a

private individual or company to do the work. Some communities follow one method and some the other. It is almost always insisted, and rightly, that garbage and rubbish shall be kept separate. Garbage includes the waste animal and vegetable matter that will promptly decay, and rubbish includes the other solid waste material like paper, tin cans, old furniture, and that sort of thing.

In some communities a successful business is done in the collection and handling of these wastes. In the rubbish, for instance, valuable articles are sometimes found. Everything is sorted. The tin and paper are baled separately and the matter which is of no value is burned. The garbage may be put to a variety of uses. The fats can be used in making soaps and, it is even said, cheap perfume. Sometimes the residue after the fats have been removed is used to make fertilizer.

In a community where no provision is made for public handling of garbage, rubbish, and ashes, every family has an added responsibility. They are responsible any time for allowing garbage to pile up in the back yard uncovered. It breeds flies and encourages rats and other vermin to come near or even into houses. The public dump is often about as disgusting looking a place as one could imagine. If waste material is not properly disposed of by burning, it should be buried and not allowed to decay through exposure to the air. Our own negligence may cause sickness to our neighbors even if we are strong or lucky enough to escape.

How does your community handle the problem of wastes? How may ashes be used? What would you think of a municipal hog farm as a means of disposing of garbage?

66. Caring for the Sick. — People will get sick in spite of all we can do to prevent it — and no community yet has done all that is possible to prevent sickness. Now what is to be done with them? Those who have contagious diseases must be quarantined — that is, kept where they will not expose others to the same disease. Sometimes other members of the family who

may get the disease must be kept from meeting others until it seems likely that they are to escape having it.

The greater part of the sick must be cared for in their own homes, but when a serious illness occurs and the family cannot afford a nurse or cannot properly care for the sick person, we

A City Hospital

need hospitals. A large number of hospitals were built entirely or partly by churches or by generous wealthy men. Sometimes a state or a city aids in the support of some such institution. When it does so, it generally insists that the hospital shall maintain a free ward or department to which citizens can be brought who cannot afford to pay for better accommodations.

Sometimes a community nurse may be provided by a local government or a large business concern, and will spend her time visiting homes where she can render helpful service. Sometimes people or local clubs subscribe to a fund to pay her expenses. In the large school systems, school doctors and nurses attend to small ailments and see that the quarantine laws are enforced when contagious diseases appear.

If you were very sick, would you rather be in a hospital or at home? Why?

67. Caring for the Defective. — If we use the word "sick" in a broad sense it will cover a great many classes of people who need to be cared for by others. Besides those suffering from disease, we have such physically sick people, in one sense, as the blind, the deaf, and the crippled. We also have the mentally sick — the insane and the feeble-minded. These groups are sometimes known collectively as the *defective* — that is, people who are clearly lacking some normal faculty or power. The greater part of all people who belong in all those classes need to be aided by the community and perhaps placed in some institution to care for them. Otherwise they may not receive the sort of attention which they need. Even if they do, it may take the entire time of one well person to look after the sick person. Surely that is not profitable socially.

Many blind, deaf, and crippled people can do a considerable amount of work. The blind have remarkable talent in certain lines, as in piano-tuning and weaving furniture and wicker work. The deaf are still less handicapped, because they can engage in anything that does not require taking orders given by the voice. Remarkable stories are told, too, of cripples, even with one or both arms or legs taken off, who have been able to make a very respectable living and to play a real man's part in the community.

In special schools for the blind a course of study is usually followed much like that of the regular schools. Textbooks and globes are used to give instruction. Raised lines or dots mean just as much to the blind person as the printed lines or dots do to the ordinary student. Deaf people can often learn to understand speech by watching a person's lips or the muscles in his throat or can carry on conversation by the well-known sign language.

The care of the soldiers wounded in the World War has received much attention recently. In spite of some neglect and mistakes, never before has our government undertaken to do

so much for those who suffered in its armies as we have tried to do for our latest war victims. The soldiers were allowed to take out insurance in the Army at a low rate. Now that they are back home, special help has been given them through schools where they can learn a trade which they can practice in spite of their misfortune. They have been paid by the government while they were receiving the instruction which was

International

WOUNDED SOLDIERS MAKING BASKETS

The soldiers are cared for at this hospital and also receive a part of the selling price of the baskets.

intended to make them self-supporting. The Veterans' Bureau in the Department of the Treasury has charge of the various activities with reference to the soldier boys who were crippled, gassed, or otherwise made sufferers.

The care of the "mentally sick" calls for a different sort of treatment. Once they were given practically no attention. If they were allowed to go free, people made fun of them and their life was an exceedingly sad one. It was just as bad if they were shut up in an institution, for they were treated not much

better than the ordinary criminal, and that meant about the same as an animal in the barn.

Now we do much better. We realize, for instance, that there is a distinct difference between the *insane* person, who once had full possession of his mental faculties but wholly or partly lost control of them, and the *feeble-minded*, who was born without a full outfit of intelligence. They need wholly different treatment. About one-third of the insane can hope to be cured. But while they are suffering from their trouble they need to be watched lest they should do some harm to themselves or others. Usually the best place for such a person is in a regular home or asylum for the insane. Some such places are carried on like private hospitals, while others are managed as state, county, or city institutions.

The feeble-minded are of three classes: the *moron* may have as much intelligence as a twelve-year-old child and is sometimes hard to distinguish from an ordinary "slow-minded" person; the *idiot* never gets any further mentally than a seven-year-old child; while the *imbecile* is always an infant mentally, not passing the mental age of two years. It is particularly necessary to keep these people in institutions and not allow them to associate generally with others or to marry. A very great proportion of the children of such people are themselves feeble-minded. To allow such persons to come into the world is both unfair to the sufferer and a burden on society. If the feeble-minded receive proper treatment in institutions managed by persons who understand their troubles, they can live with reasonable comfort and even be of some service in earning their own support.

68. **Restraining Bad Habits.** — People have only themselves to blame when they eat or drink things that they know are not good for them or indulge in other habits that weaken them and make them less efficient. Yet a community can hardly afford to allow everybody without backbone to do just as he pleases in the matter of personal habits. For the sake of those people and for the sake of saving the community from the waste and

expense caused by their carelessness or worse, we have laws which undertake to restrain or prevent some of the bad habits of which foolish men and women are guilty.

Which is easier or better — to break bad habits or prevent them? How much can laws do towards getting rid of bad habits? Is experience the best teacher in regard to them?

Take, for instance, the matter of using drugs or "dope." The person who becomes subject to such a habit finds it almost impossible to break himself of it. He must have his opium or cocaine or whatever it is. We therefore have a national Drug Act which requires keeping strict records of all sales of dangerous habit-forming drugs, and prohibits the sale of them except under a physician's prescription. The local police officers also enforce city and state ordinances that aim to restrain people from these foolish habits.

Almost as long as men have lived, the use of intoxicating liquor has been a serious problem. Not much more than a century ago almost everybody drank liquor to some extent. But now we have the Eighteenth Amendment as a part of our national Constitution, which forbids the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquor for beverage purposes in the United States and all territory subject to their jurisdiction. The state of Maine has had prohibition ever since 1846. Other states tried it for longer or shorter periods at different times, one of which, the state of Kansas, had state prohibition continuously after 1882. Beginning with about 1907, state after state in the South, and then in the West, adopted prohibition. Nearly three-fourths of them did so either by a law of their legislature or by amending their constitutions. Then the Eighteenth Amendment went into effect in 1920, coming as a sort of climax to a series of steps in the process of making the country legally "dry."

Prohibition, as the word is used in connection with intoxicating liquor, means completely forbidding the manufacture or distribution of it for drinking purposes. For some time, in a number of the states, the practice followed was known as *local option*.

That is, each town or city or county might be allowed to take a vote of its own people and decide whether licenses for saloons would be granted in that district. In several states local option was a sort of intermediate step between no limitation at all on the sale of liquor and complete prohibition.

National prohibition in our country today rests upon two foundations: the Eighteenth Amendment, which we have already quoted, and the Volstead Act, passed by Congress in the fall of 1919. The Eighteenth Amendment does not say what intoxicating liquor is but gives Congress the power to make laws necessary to carry the Amendment into effect. In the Volstead Act Congress declared that anything should be considered intoxicating which contained more than one-half of one per cent alcohol. It also provided for a system of local and state prohibition officers and one Prohibition Commissioner for the entire country.

The success of national prohibition has not been so complete as to satisfy everybody. At the same time, it must have done much to limit the sale of liquor, since a great many people who formerly drank or sold it regularly are tremendously opposed to the Eighteenth Amendment and its enforcement. Always when any new restraint is put upon people many of them try to see how much of it they can escape. Some "bootleggers" have found it a profitable, even though risky, business to sell real liquor in some cases and exceedingly dangerous artificial stuff in others.

Yet after all, the chances are that when the people have had time to get used to prohibition, if the majority plainly want to have it enforced, it will be obeyed as well as most laws are. Certainly the old-time saloon, which was a loafing place for men and sometimes boys, and which was notorious for its bad influence in politics, has gone. There are many reasons for believing that prohibition has accomplished much for a considerable portion of the people and that it would be a great mistake to allow the old-time saloon that disgraced so many of our city corners to come back.

It has been urged that it was wrong to "take away the workingman's beer" and it has been proposed to define intoxicating liquor differently so as to permit the sale of beer and light wine. What do you think of this proposition? Can you be sure a man is not selling stronger stuff when he has the right to sell beer and wine?

Has the habit of joking about prohibition helped to create disrespect for it? Is there any difference in principle between prohibiting the use of drugs and of liquor? between either of these and having speed regulations for automobiles? Should we repeal every law which is frequently violated?

69. Keeping in Health. — It is said that in China a doctor is paid when his patients keep well and that he gets no compensation when they are sick. We can learn some things from the

Courtesy Tennessee Coal, Iron, & Railroad Co.

TOOTHBRUSH DRILL

The children in this school in Alabama are taught in their everyday work the importance of preserving their teeth.

Chinese. "Prevention is better than cure" is a most excellent motto in connection with sickness.

With a great many people, keeping in health for even dozens of years is a very simple matter. To eat and drink only those things that are nourishing and safe, to take a reasonable amount of exercise and recreation, to have regularly eight hours' sleep and rest in bed, and to avoid serious worry or excitement, are

prescriptions that most people can follow the greater part of the time. A person really has no right to allow himself to overwork or overplay to such an extent that his general endurance and strength are weakened. Some people can stand more than others both of physical exercise and nervous strain. A number of rules of health everybody will have to form for himself. "Know thyself" is ancient advice but just as good now as when it was given.

People seldom take pride today in being sick. Once it was not so much a joke as the truth when some people declared that they had been "enjoying poor health." Now we feel that the normal person ought to be well. Girls today no longer think it ladylike to faint on little provocation. For them as well as for boys, physical exercise and life in the great outdoors are doing wonders. Sometimes disease comes, particularly when epidemics sweep over the country, even to those who have tried their best to abide by the rules of health. And no medicine has yet been discovered that will keep anybody physically alive forever. But we can be a much healthier nation than we are, and most of us have it in our own power to a considerable extent to keep healthy. To keep our minds free from unpleasant and low thoughts, to "think health" and practice what we know about it, will do wonders.

A Filling in Time

Health depends upon good teeth to a greater degree than we sometimes realize.

May a person make himself sick by thinking that he is? How often should one consult a doctor or a dentist? Mention some things that young people need to do in order to have good health in later life. Is it one's duty as a citizen to keep well? What would you consider some tests of good health?

Our governments aid us by helping us to obtain pure air, pure water, and pure food. They help in maintaining institutions where the sick and the defective can be cared for and in keeping the community from harm through contact with the dangerously ill. They even seek to keep us from indulging in bad habits in the use of drugs and drink. Surely we should coöperate with all these efforts to make us more healthy, and not find fault because occasionally a little of our "liberty" is limited.

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Most Common Diseases of Today.
The Public Health Service of Our State and Community.
What Sanitation Did for the Canal Zone.
The Fight against Yellow Fever.
The White Plague and How to Combat It.
The Hospitals of Our Community.
My Experience in a Hospital.
The Safety First Movement.
The Water Supply of Our Community.
Housing Conditions in Our Town.
Our Grocery Stores and Meat Markets.
The National Bureau of Chemistry.
Herbert C. Hoover and the National Food Administration.
The Care of Our Soldiers' Health during the Great War.
The Milk Supply of Our Community.
Louis Pasteur.
Getting Rid of Yellow Fever.
The Training of the Blind, the Deaf, and the Dumb.
The Care of the Insane and the Feeble-Minded.
The Effect of the Great War on the Liquor Business.
The Anti-Saloon League.
The Benefits of Prohibition.

READINGS

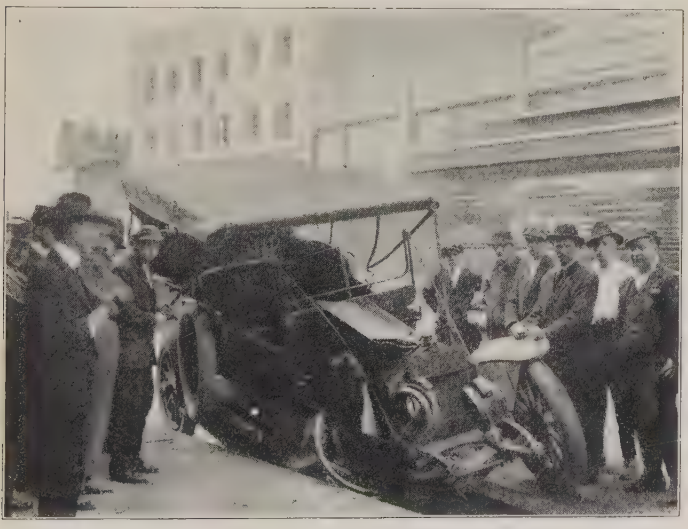
Lessons in Community and National Life, B–7, B–14, C–3, C–19.
Howe – The Modern City and Its Problems, Chapter 15.
Gillette — Constructive Rural Sociology, Chapter 13.
Magruder — American Government, Chapter 29.
Leavitt and Brown — Elementary Social Science, Chapter 9.
Haskin — American Government, Chapter 15.
Bread — American City Government, Chapter 10.
Du Puy — Uncle Sam's Modern Miracles, Chapters 1, 17.

CHAPTER X

SECURITY

" The greatest good can be done by preventing the commission of unlawful acts." — Kohler.

70. Why We Need It and What Menaces It. — What makes it possible for people to engage in great business enterprises or even for us to build a dwelling of our own? Why is it that day



SOMEBODY WAS CARELESS

after day, men and women leave their homes and go out to work assuming just as a matter of course that in the evening they will return, tired perhaps, but unharmed. Just this. Our governments have set up a system of protection which removes

almost all danger of attack by highwaymen, protects our property from thieves, and aids in putting out fires. To make progress possible, security must prevail.

Perhaps you ask why the government has to do this? Do not individuals know enough and have a sufficient sense of justice to take all reasonable care to preserve their own lives and property and those of others? Surely there ought to be but one answer — "Yes." But what is the situation?

The great menaces to security can all be suggested in two words, carelessness and selfishness. The careless smoker throws down a match and thinks only too late to see whether the flame is out when it strikes the ground or floor. A careless motorist drives his automobile at a speed that endangers the lives of dozens of fellow-citizens. The careless contractor puts up buildings so hastily that they will not bear the weight which they should, or will go up in smoke within a few minutes after a flame is started.

The selfish person is so engrossed in his own gains that he has no regard for what happens to anybody else. He is in a hurry and does not think at all of other people who may be wishing to use the same street. The moving picture proprietor wants to make money out of the children and older people of his neighborhood and puts up a rickety shack that will burn or collapse almost without warning. Now what are we going to do about this?

FAMOUS LAST WORDS

"I wonder if it's loaded. I'll look down the barrel and see."

"Oh, listen! That's the train-whistle! Step on the accelerator, and we'll try to get across before it comes."

"They say these things can't possibly explode, no matter how much you throw them around."

"I wonder whether this rope will hold my weight."

"It's no fun swimming in the surf. I'm going out beyond the life-lines."

"Which one of these is the third rail anyway?"

"There's only one way to manage a horse. Walk right up behind him and chastise him."

"That firecracker must have gone out. I'll light it again."

Does a fire in Los Angeles or New Orleans mean any expense to a citizen of your community?

Is it ever a citizen's duty to be more careful than the law commands him to be? Is it ever to his interest to be so?

71. What We Burn Up. — One of our most foolish indulgences is our annual bonfire. Some things need to be burned, for the sake of getting them out of the way and keeping the community cleaned up. But when in a single year enough buildings are consumed by the flames to line a street stretching from New York to Chicago, it looks as if we were overdoing the matter. The property value that is destroyed in one year in this country has jumped almost to the half billion figure. Fifteen thousand people lose their lives, several times as many more are thrown out of work, families suffer because their wages are interrupted, and all because of carelessness. The civilized countries of Europe have no such losses by fire.

How Not to Use a Fire Escape

Tenants often complain that they have no other place to dry their clothes, but that fact does not make the practice any less dangerous.

We do have, it is true, a very extensive system of fire insurance and the total value of the policies taken out by the American people is enormous. But at the best, property destroyed by a fire is gone. If the owner gets insurance money for it, somebody has had to pay that money to the insurance company. They do not insure houses out of love. It is a business. They make profit as well as protect people.

Nothing can send through us a more awful thrill of alarm than a cry of " Fire " in the night. When some factory burns and a hundred or so employees lose their lives we get very much excited. Then we go to work to set up safeguards around our factories. A little while later a terrible calamity occurs in a school building. Then we start fire drills in our school and hold them regularly for a little while. A moving picture theater meets with

A Dangerous Fire Hazard

If a fire started in these shacks at Revere Beach, it would sweep them all away in a hurry.

disaster and then we inspect the movie places for a month or two.

But our memories are short and we go back to our old habits, and we will not abide by any building laws if we can get away with our neglect. A few fires, of course, cannot be prevented by any ordinary foresight. But it is estimated that not over five per cent of all the property destroyed by fire in an ordinary year needed to be destroyed if human beings had been 100 per cent careful.

72. Fire Fighting. — There is a good reason, then, why the fire departments of the United States are the best in the world.

They have to be! One who is heartless enough to forget the loss and suffering caused by a fire will be tempted to laugh when he reads of the frantic but almost hopeless efforts to put out fires before the modern fire engine came into use.

The "bucket brigade," which passed pails and tubs from hand to hand from a river or well to the fire, represented a com-

ENGINE CO. NO. .....
ALARM NO. .....
FALSE ALARM NO. .....
FIRE NO .....

ENGINE AND TRUCK CO. SERVICE REPORT
DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC SAFETY
BUREAU OF FIRE
CITY OF PITTSBURGH, PA.

TRUCK CO. NO. .....
ALARM NO. .....
FALSE ALARM NO. .....
FIRE NO. .....

Station.....Day.....Date.....Month.....Time.....A. M. P. M.

Location of fire (St. and No.) .....

Other than building fire .....

Cause of fire .....

Extent of fire .....

State if confined to starting point, to building or extended to or beyond adjoining buildings

Fire extinguished with .....

Extinguishers, chemical, plug or engine streams or other methods

Location of plug .....if out of order give Register No. of plug.....

Plug pressure.....Lbs. Steam pressure.....Lbs. Water pressure.....Lbs.

Time delayed.....Min. Cause.....

Hose used.....Ft. 2½ inch .....Ft. 3 inch .....Ft. 1 inch.

No. sections burst .....Size.....Brand..... Ladders used.....Ft.

Number of extinguishers used ..... Number of chemical tanks used.....Size.....Gallons.

Length of time on duty.....Hrs.....Min. Distance traveled.....Miles.

Number of men on duty at fire..... Number of men absent from duty.....

Fire started in a.....story.....Use of bldg.....

Located at (St. and No.).....

Owned by.....Occupied by.....

Extended to a.....story.....Use of bldg.....

Located at (St. and No.).....

Owned by.....Occupied by.....

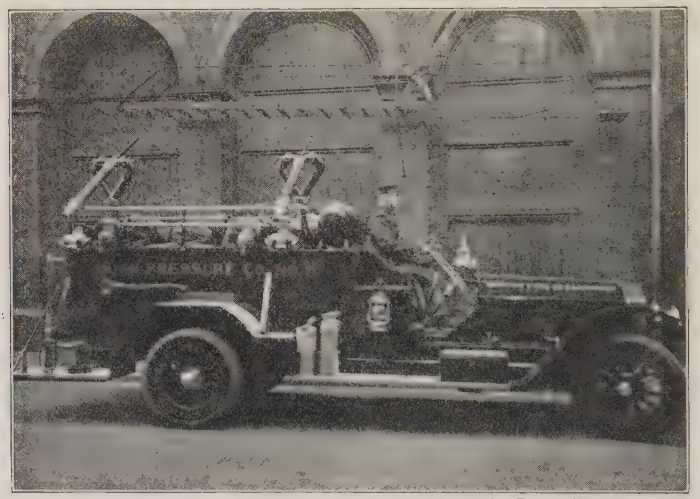
A Fire Report

A form like this has to be filled out and preserved after every fire, large or small.

munity's sympathy and struggle against misfortune, but often not much more. The pump on wheels which was dragged to the scene of the fire one hundred and twenty-five years ago could get a little more force applied to the water, but if no well was handy,

it was useless. The volunteer fire company, which assembled as soon as it could after an alarm was given, and drew the engine to the fire by hand with the help of long ropes, was a decided improvement; but no large city today would care to trust itself to them.

We must have regular companies always on duty, officered and organized to work with military efficiency. We have fire-alarm systems, so that fire companies may learn promptly where



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A New Type of Fire-Fighting Equipment

Here we have a water gun for sending water to unusual heights. In the picture on page 205 you see one of these being tried out.

the fire is. We have our engines, our hook and ladder trucks, our chemical apparatus which, if the fire has not too much of a start, can put it out without causing the damage that comes from hurling thousands of gallons of water. The largest cities also have their water-towers and fire-boats to use in getting at a fire which is blazing in an awkward place to reach. Electric or gasoline power is generally displacing the faithful horses that once drew the firemen's engines and trucks.

The number of engine-houses and firemen needed by a city depends somewhat on the ground which they have to cover. A hilly city, like Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, or San Francisco, needs more than a level city. When we see the firemen sitting around in the engine-house playing cards or looking at the scenery, we may wonder why we pay taxes to get men to do that. But when we realize that within ten minutes these same men may be risking their lives to save others and that their skill and courage may keep a whole city from destruction, we are willing to admit

Courtesy Portland Cement Association

FIRE TRUCK ON A COUNTRY ROAD

that perhaps we should want more pay than they get if we had to take their places. Special training-schools for firemen are frequently provided, so that they may be fully instructed in everything related to their work.

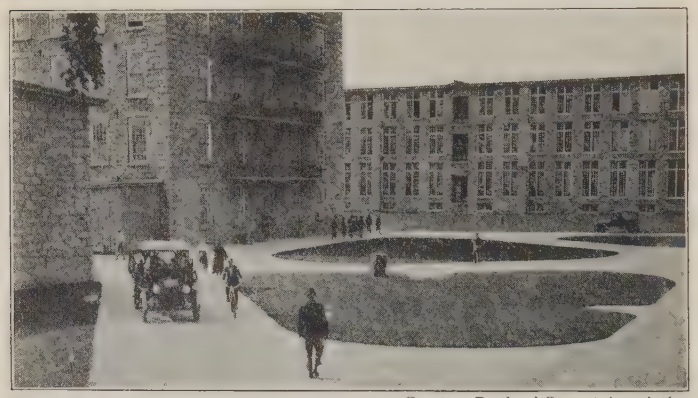
What personal qualities are needed in a fireman?

73. Fire Prevention. — Big fires still occur, for sometimes a blaze has gone so far before it is discovered that the best that can be done is to limit it to the building where it broke out. The proper way, after all, to fight fires is to see that they do not get started. This may be done in two ways: by constructing buildings so as to make them less risky, and by urging people to

be careful and showing them how their carelessness may cause a fire.

Most of the large cities now establish "fire limits," within which they do not allow any large wooden buildings to be erected. Theaters must have asbestos curtains to shut off the auditorium from the stage and the rest of the building. Automatic sprinklers are installed in many business places. Stairways and air shafts must be of fireproof material, so far as possible.

To protect the lives of people in public buildings, the aisles



Courtesy Portland Cement Association

FIRE ESCAPES ON A FACTORY BUILDING

must always be kept open, doors must open outward, and there must be plenty of fire escapes, all plainly marked. Many of these requirements must be observed in the construction of tenements. Schools must have fire drills, so that every one in the building may get out in the quickest and most orderly fashion possible.

Fires in homes can be almost entirely prevented by the most ordinary kind of care. The lists of "Don'ts" which are issued by fire officials from time to time are so simple that they seem almost silly, but most house fires are caused by disregard of these simple rules. Fireplaces or gas stoves unprotected by some kind of screen are responsible for many fires and

deaths, especially of children. The handling of explosives or matches is to blame for many more. Electric wiring, if done by some one who does not know his business, is dangerous. Putting hot ashes in wooden boxes or piling up wood or paper near a stove or furnace is a frequent cause of fire. Common sense would tell us not to do these and many other reckless things, but many of us do not use it as often as we ought.

MORE CARELESSNESS

There can be no possible excuse for a man's smoking when he is working in a place like this.

One reason why fires are not so common in European cities is that the governments pay more attention to the inspection of private houses and business places than we do, and that they enforce strictly the rules which they lay down. Here we have almost no inspection of private houses, for Americans think that this is inquisitive meddling into private affairs and resent it. A little unprejudiced thinking will show that this is wrong, and that we need more " meddling " rather than less.

Some cities do have bureaus of building inspection which make factory owners and proprietors of tenement houses comply with the laws. Three-fourths of the states also have fire marshals, who may make regulations for fire prevention and go into any building to inspect it and see that the regulations are obeyed. They also investigate the causes of fires that have occurred. The amount of authority such state officers possess varies widely.

What would you do if a fire started where you were? Can July 4 be properly celebrated without danger from fire? What would be the effect on fire insurance if people obeyed the cautions set forth by fire marshals?

Another serious form of fire loss is from forest fires. Careless campers and picnickers have caused more harm in a few minutes than can be repaired in a quarter of a century. Sometimes the people of a state are not anxious to spend money for forest guards, but it has been estimated that to maintain a force of men sufficient to prevent all the forest fires that have occurred would not have cost one-fifth of the money loss which was actually suffered. One of the most important duties of

Trying to Put Out a Forest Fire

It is almost a life-and-death struggle, with no let-up for hours or even days.

our forest rangers is to watch from "look-outs" for signs of fires just starting. Then word can be immediately flashed to other workers and the fire may perhaps be put out before it does any serious harm.

74. Why We Have Policemen. — On the stage and in the movies, we sometimes see an old man with long white whiskers,

who wears an enormous silver star on his coat and brags about people whom he is not going to let get away from him. That is the stage idea of the rural constable, whose business seems to be mainly to chase people who have committed a crime. Rural constables are not usually that kind of person, however, and probably no more criminals in proportion to the whole number escape punishment in the country than in the city.

But to chase criminals is only one of the policeman's many duties. The police and the constable exist mainly for the purpose of preventing crime rather than of seizing criminals. The very fact that there are policemen and constables makes people who think of committing crime much more cautious. A word from a policeman may keep a person out of mischief or quiet an angry mob, and this will be much better for the community than to allow a man or a mob to commit some wrongful act and then try to punish them for doing it.

Policemen also render a great many courtesies. The driver of a car who has to stop because the policeman's sign tells him to do so may get restive or perhaps angry; but after all the cornerman or "traffic cop" is rendering a service that may save the lives and property of a great many citizens in the course of a year. This same policeman may give advice to strangers or even citizens of his own community about the location of places. He may help old ladies and little girls to get across a crowded street in safety. He may stand in a busy thoroughfare when school is being let out and see that no harm comes to the children. The presence of even one policeman at a great public meeting will often do much to keep an unruly crowd in order. No one who has not tried the job himself has any idea of the hundreds of things that policemen may have to do.

Not all the officials who do police service wear uniforms. In every large city there are some plain-clothes men or detectives, who dress like ordinary men and do their work much more successfully because they cannot be recognized by the average person. Then at the police station there are officers

who keep records of persons whose history is bad. They take finger prints and personal measurements of those who are arrested, so that there may always be a means of identifying those men who try to make a living by committing crime and whom every community must guard itself against.

Some offenses and offenders can be dealt with by women much better than by men. All our large cities now have a

CARING FOR AN UNFORTUNATE

An injured boy is to be taken by the police ambulance to the nearest relief station.

few policewomen to handle such cases. Particularly with girls who have started on the wrong path, the policewoman can deal in a way that no man could hope to do successfully.

What qualities are particularly necessary in a policeman? Would you like to be one? What should a child learn to think about a policeman? In this country we do not like a large standing army. Are there the same reasons for objecting to a police force?

75. Organizing the Police Force. — In several countries in Europe the work of the police is considered so important that a minister of police is an officer of the national government. When this is the case, the police department of the

entire country can act as a unit and handle thoroughly the matters that a policeman might have to deal with. Policemen in such countries are virtually under military discipline and do their work with a thoroughness that Americans may not appreciate.

In this country, except in a few states like New York and Massachusetts, that have one very large city, the control of the police is a local matter. Sometimes the police force makes up an entire separate department of the city government. Sometimes it is combined with the fire bureau or some other group of officials under the name of the department of public safety. The person at the head of the police force is usually called chief of police or superintendent. Lower than this officer in rank there may be commissioners or captains as well as lieutenants and sergeants. The great body of the force are usually called patrolmen. Their regular duty is to cover a definite " beat," which they are expected to go over within a certain time, although they may be sent on special duty at almost any time.

From what we have said about the duties of a policeman it surely would seem that such an officer needs to have more than ordinary brains as well as to be somewhat of an athlete. The typical policeman, not so many years ago, was exactly the opposite. Now, however, in any well-governed city, appointments to the police force are made only after candidates take examinations to test the physical and mental ability of the applicant. It gives you considerable confidence in the way a city maintains law and order to go there and see a set of upstanding, alert-looking men doing the various things that come within the range of a policeman's duties.

Policemen's salaries are nowhere very large. They are often accused of becoming petty grafters upon the people with whom they come into contact on their beat. Such cases are exceptions to the rule. If there is dishonesty, it is as likely to be higher up in the police department as among the policemen who walk the beats of the city. A policeman has no

heart to arrest law-breakers if they are let off without punishment after they have been arrested. That is one of the evil influences that have caused corruption among the police of many of our cities. To look out for those who can no longer work efficiently at a regular police job, there are in many cities,

A Traffic Officer Watching Automobiles

Sometimes the officer and his horse think a great deal of each other.

pension funds, in which a pension of perhaps half the policeman's regular salary will be given him after he has served a certain time, say 25 years. There may also be a similar fund for firemen.

The reason why, in a few cases, the city is not allowed entire control of its police is that the state legislature has felt that what the big city does may have a direct and important result upon the entire state, and that therefore the state should supervise the enforcement of laws in the big city. It sometimes happens, too, that the big city usually gives a majority

to the opposite political party from that which controls the state as a whole. So for these reasons, some good and some bad, state officers may be given considerable authority over the local police.

Which is likely to make the police more efficient, the American or the European system of management? Do policemen deserve pensions? Do police officers in your neighborhood enjoy the respect of the citizens?

76. How a State Protects Life and Property. — Many of the laws which the policeman of a city or the constable of a smaller community has to enforce are passed by the state legislature. Every such local officer is expected to aid in enforcing the laws of the state as well as the local ordinances of his particular city or village. In each county, too, we usually find a sheriff who is also vested with authority to enforce the laws of the state and arrest offenders against those laws.

How One Town Warns Speeders

Most of the states do not maintain a permanent police force of their own. They all have a national guard or state militia, made up of men who meet a few days once a year for general drill and training and may be called upon at any time to keep the peace in a particular neighborhood in case of a riot, a serious strike, or some other dangerous situation. It may happen that the local officers, policemen, constables, or sheriffs are not strong enough to deal with the situation. Sometimes

the militia may be kept on duty several weeks, but sometimes a few days are enough to restore quiet to a community and permit the militiamen to be sent back to their homes.

A few states, of which Pennsylvania and New York were among the first, have a permanent state police force, often known as the constabulary. They may be sent anywhere within the borders of a state. Special care is taken to appoint

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STATE TROOPS STARTING FOR SERVICE

These New York cavalrymen have been called into the federal service by President Wilson and are going to the Mexican border.

men to this body who have no fear of any human being and have sufficient intelligence to deal with any emergency. Sometimes two or three of these men sent to a scene of disturbance will do more good than a whole company of militia.

The state assumes many other responsibilities in the way of protecting life and property. It may, for instance, require railroads to abolish grade crossings. Every progressive state has laws insisting upon fire escapes in factories, school buildings, and other places where large numbers of people gather, unless the building is so constructed as to be "fire-proof."

Large states maintain a force of factory inspectors whose duties are to see that all the laws with respect to safety, ventilation, sanitation, and the like, are observed. State officials often encourage the observance of fire prevention days, accident prevention days, and the like. There is usually at least one officer or bureau that keeps extensive records of the accidents in factories. If the state has laws which require the

Watch Yourself

This is one of the ways the Ohio State Highway Department warns automobilists.

payment of compensation to workmen who are injured, this bureau or officer has the oversight of that work.

Find out the facts about the national guard of your state, and the state constabulary, if you have them.

77. The National Government as a Protector. — In theory, the power of the national government extends over the entire country, and every citizen of the United States enjoys whatever protection is afforded by the Stars and Stripes. This means a great deal. But it is only rarely in our own borders that any one of us realizes personally the protection of the national government. When some great calamity occurs,

such as the San Francisco fire or the Dayton flood, or when some serious disorder has taken place, the legislature of a state, if it is in session, or the governor when the legislature is not in session, may ask the President of the United States to send federal troops to help keep peace. This has happened a number of times in our history.

During President Cleveland's second term a great railway strike occurred which centered around Chicago. President Cleveland said that the United States mails were being interfered with, and against the wishes of the Governor of Illinois sent troops to Illinois to see that the mail trains were safe. The President at that time was harshly criticized by some, but today it is generally agreed that the President is the judge of the time when federal troops are to be sent into or kept out of the borders of any state if the national government's authority or laws are being disregarded.

American citizens abroad, however, look regularly to the American flag for protection. In times of peace they are protected by the government of the country where they happen to be. But no American citizen can expect a foreign government to feel any great responsibility for him, any more than an alien in the United States could expect this country to go out of its way to render protection to him. So our consuls in foreign cities look out for our citizens there. Sometimes even our navy or our army may be sent to some place where American citizens are in danger.

The ordinary work of the federal government in affording everyday security seems somewhat limited. Yet we have national laws requiring the use of safety devices on interstate railroad trains and steamboats. Our national department of agriculture tries to aid farmers to get rid of insects and animals dangerous to crops. The Weather Bureau keeps people informed of probable sunshine or storm, heat or cold, so that they may take proper care of themselves and their property. Our National Department of Justice is engaged in bringing to punishment those who break our national laws. The Secret

Service, in the Treasury Department, seeks to prevent counterfeiting and hunt out the criminals who are not easy to catch. Perhaps we do not realize just how much we do owe to our national government.

78. Why People Do Wrong. — Let us bring this matter of security right down to the individual citizen. Why is it that some people do not respect the rights of others — the lives

A Ranger on Fire Patrol Duty

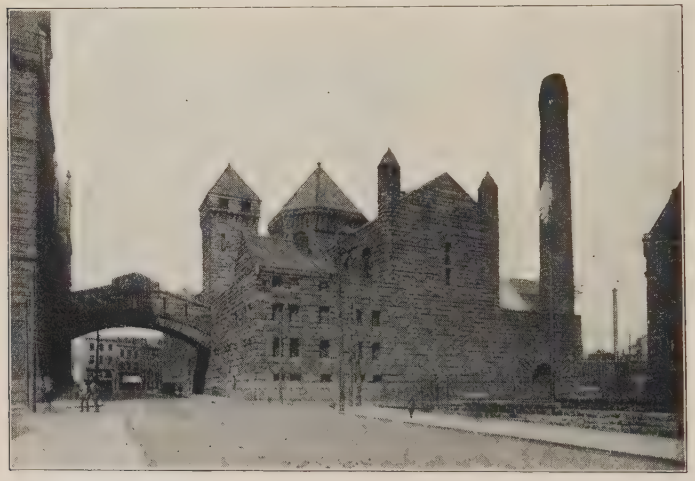
He keeps constant watch for any sign of fire. From this post he can see for many miles.

and property of their fellow-men? Why do they break laws? Why do they commit any kind of wrong?

Perhaps we should make clear the meaning of certain words we are likely to use frequently. An act that results in physical or moral harm to the person who commits it may be called *vice*. An act which breaks what we believe to be a law of God we call a *sin*. An act which breaks a law made by human beings we call a *crime*.

Crimes usually consist of acts that most people recognize as morally wrong in addition to being contrary to law. But

they are not necessarily so. For instance, a careful driver of an automobile will probably drive just as carefully whether he has license plates on his machine or not. Attaching license plates to a car has of itself no more moral quality than putting on a hub-cap. Yet when the state says that every driver must attach license plates to his machine, then failure to do so is a crime and the state may rightly punish those who break this law as well as any other law. A person, too, might break a law because he did not know that the law existed. He would



THE JAIL, PITTSBURGH

The Bridge of Sighs connects it with the neighboring courthouse.

still be a criminal, yet we should have no right to charge him with moral wrong unless his act was contrary to common sense and ordinary fairness.

There are various ways of classifying crime. More serious offenses are known as *felonies*. Less serious are *misdemeanors*. There are a considerable number of acts that harm others which are not affected by the ordinary criminal laws. Such cases are known as *torts*. To deal with wrongs of this character the person who is injured has the right to bring charges against

the wrong-doer in court and secure compensation for the wrong that has been done.

There are crimes against *public order*, such as treason, riot, or counterfeiting. There are crimes against *the person*, such as assault, manslaughter, or murder. There are crimes against *property*, such as burglary, arson, and embezzlement. We do not know how many crimes are committed in this country or any other in the course of a year, because some crimes are never discovered and in other cases the offender is not caught. But over 500,000 sentences are imposed on persons in the United States in the course of a year. Now why do all these things happen? The causes of crime may be grouped as " individual " and " social."

One *individual* cause is heredity. The tendency to commit vice or crime runs in some families and seems to be inherited just as looks or size may be. Lack of education or training, which allows a person to do improper acts because he knows no better, is another reason. The vast majority of criminals are uneducated.

Bad habits, such as the use of liquor or drugs, sometimes get men into a condition where they commit crimes without realizing it at the time, or without being able to control their passions. Idleness, lack of regular employment, and incompetency to carry on any trade or business are responsible for other people's straying from the path of right. In some communities, a sort of rowdy spirit sometimes appears that may be due to the lack of enough opportunities for wholesome recreation. It often leads to willful vice and crime.

Social conditions which help to produce crime are many. Home surroundings doubtless affect more than any other one cause. A boy or girl brought up in a family where children are not taught what is right and what is wrong is very likely not to make any distinctions of that kind in dealing with other people. Recreations and amusements may be responsible for obedience or disobedience to law. A frequenter of gambling joints, saloons, cheap movies, public dance halls, and the like,

is apt to become associated with men or scenes whose influence is ruinous. He cannot keep himself physically or morally clean.

When many are out of work, stealing and similar crimes occur in order to obtain things which a person has not the money to pay for. As the old saying had it, "Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do." Many a person has got into trouble because there was nothing to hold his attention and keep his mind occupied. Jealousy and envy have the same sort of effect.

A low standard of public sentiment in a community also conduces to the commission of crime. If certain laws are openly violated, or if only a half-hearted effort is made to enforce any laws, crime will naturally flourish. Public officers will generally do what a community wants them to do. It is hard to enforce laws, too, which a large number of people do not believe in. Yet the mere fact that some men think a law is unwise does not by any means prove that one has a right to disobey it.

Rank the causes of crime in what you consider their relative seriousness. Look up the definitions of any terms which you do not understand. Is all crime committed in the slum districts or by residents of such places?

79. Dealing with Wrong-Doers. — Nowhere in the relations of men with one another has a more remarkable change taken place in the last century than in the way we act toward the criminal. Once "his hand was against every man's, and every man's hand against him." The spirit of revenge seemed to be the motive for dealing with the criminal. He had wronged society; therefore society would get back at him. It was the "eye for an eye, tooth for a tooth" principle. For scores of offenses the penalty was death, and life in prisons was sometimes even worse than death.

Another idea, less objectionable, is that society ought to protect its members from the harm and evil influence of the criminal, and therefore should put him in prison where his evil influence could not harm other people. Sometimes, too,

the thought has been that by making penalties heavy enough we could scare people from committing crime.

None of these methods took into account the criminal himself or allowed a chance for him to get a new start after he had once gone wrong. This object, the reformation of the offender, and the prevention of crime by removing conditions which

International

AN INSIDE VIEW IN A STATE PRISON

How would you like to live there?

produce it, are two cardinal features of present treatment of the problem of crime.

Society must always protect itself against the hardened criminal. Sympathy " slops over " when it puts all the blame on the criminal's environment and not on himself. But we should give every possible encouragement to the fallen man or woman who wants to begin over again and to do the right thing.

And so criminals are sometimes let out on *probation* — that is, so long as they do right no punishment will be inflicted for some crime which has been committed. The *indeterminate sentence* is becoming common. This is not imposed for a

definite period, but permits the offender to be released after a while, on his *parole*, or promise to obey the laws. Then if he does not keep his promise he can be brought back to serve a longer period. Or if he does not behave properly during his first imprisonment, he will not be given his freedom until the end of the longer term. In the majority of prisons nowadays some attempt is made to give a man the chance to improve himself while he is there and to treat him as if he were still a human being, even though he had done wrong and had been caught at it.

TAKING YOUR MEASURE

Criminals are carefully measured in this way and records kept of the facts obtained. This man, however, was not a criminal, but was simply helping to show how the thing is done.

Can you imagine how you would feel if you were in the criminal's place?

But just as important as the fair treatment of the criminal — yes, even more important — is the removal of the conditions that produce crime. It is sending good money after bad to give a criminal the opportunity to wash up and put on clean clothes, and ask him if he does not want to live a better life, if the slum district from which he may have come is breeding scores more just like him.

Improving home conditions among the poor and in the tenement districts, opening playgrounds, libraries, and other places where people can get wholesome amusement and recre-

ation, and providing a man with a job if he wants to work, are very practical steps that must help to relieve the seriousness of the problem of the criminal. But, like the poor, he is always with us, and we must try to save him and to save ourselves from him, if society itself is to be preserved.

Take up each of the causes of crime mentioned in the last section, and, when you can, suggest a remedy for that particular cause.

Do you believe in the death penalty for murderers?

Once it was the custom to treat in exactly the same way everybody who was sent to prison. All ages, men and women alike, were thrown into pens or dungeons that were not fit for the lowest animal, and given nothing to do except meditate on further crimes.

We do things better now in most states of the Union, although in some places there is still much to be desired. Those who are sentenced to imprisonment for long terms, or who are supposed to be hardened offenders, are usually sent to a *state prison* or *penitentiary*. Younger criminals are sent to institutions known as *reformatories*. The name indicates that those who go there are supposed to be placed under influences that will help them to do better; but too often the deviltry which a young scamp has not learned before he enters he will be familiar with before he graduates from the institution. Those who are held in prison to await trial are commonly kept in a *county jail*, and those who are sentenced to short terms of imprisonment are confined in the jail or in an establishment called a *workhouse*.

Old Time Prison Equipment

These articles were actually used for many years.

Under the influence of such men as Thomas M. Osborne, of New York, public interest has been strongly turned toward the improvement of sanitary conditions in prisons and toward such a treatment of the inmates as will not deprive them of whatever of self-respect may remain to them. We wish to give them every chance to be better men and women when they leave. Some believe that such efforts may be too sentimental and may offer so many privileges that there will cease

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THE STATE PRISON AT AUBURN, NEW YORK

Here Thomas M. Osborne started many of the prison reforms for which he is noted.

to be any disgrace or call for repentance connected with a prison sentence. But no doubt we can afford occasionally to make the opposite kind of mistake from that which we have been making for centuries.

What the inmate of a prison or reformatory shall do while he is there is a troublesome question. To put him at almost any kind of work is better than to let him stay in idleness. There have been different plans for supervising the labor of prisoners and of disposing of the goods they make. Some-

times the state has leased the services of its prisoners as if they were so many slaves and put them to work for the contractor who would offer the best bid for them. Sometimes the contractor has simply obtained their labor during the working hours of the day, leaving them for the rest of the time under the control of the state authorities.

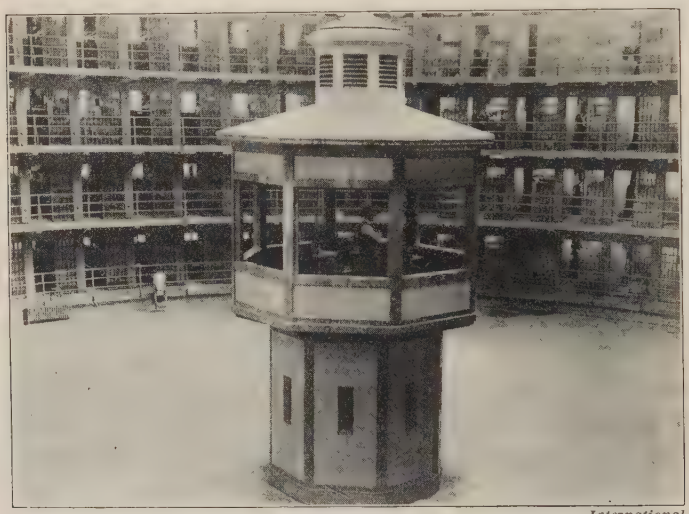
More often the state itself provides the machines and raw material needed to make brooms, carpets, chairs, or something else, and sells the product itself like any other manufacturer. It is becoming the custom to credit the workman with something in the way of pay, which he may use to obtain little extras for his own use in prison or receive in money when he leaves. In a number of states the state uses the prison-made goods itself, and often employs the convicts at building roads, or at work on a prison farm, or doing some other healthful outdoor labor.

Sometimes the honor system has been carried so far that road gangs have been left alone for considerable periods with nothing but their own honor or the fear of being caught to prevent them from running away. More and more the states are locating their prisons in the country, where conditions particularly favor good health and relief from temptation.

Labor unions are strongly opposed to putting convict-made goods on the market along with those made outside of prisons. Do you think this attitude is reasonable?

We are thinking much more than we once did of what the convict is to do after he gets out. Formerly, when he left prison he was given a suit that fitted him like a kimono, and was turned out into the world with every phase of his appearance suggesting that he had been a "jailbird." Few employers cared to hire such laborers. But now the best prison wardens try to keep in touch with the men who have left their care, to help them get work, and to give them advice and counsel at any time. Private societies exist also for the purpose of helping the ex-convict to a job and a new start in life.

80. Caring for Young Criminals. — Children learn most of the things they do from their elders. A child genius who invents a new way to do wrong is almost as rare as the one who gets into college when he is 14. If a child has fallen into bad



International

A New Model Prison

This is the new State Penitentiary at Statesville, Illinois. It is built in circular form. Every cell is on the outside, and has a window and all necessary facilities for comfort. One guard in the center controls the locking and lighting of cells. A large farm is connected with this institution.

habits and seriously gone astray, the surest way to fix those bad habits on him permanently and prevent him from getting on the right path again is to put him with criminals who will never do right except under the eye of the policeman.

And so the state, in seeking to do its duty and protect its people from wrong-doers, has come to the conclusion that young criminals should be treated in a wholly different way from those who are old. Now in every community that handles its crime efficiently we have a juvenile court. Before these courts are taken most of the offenders under 21 years of age.

Here they can be counseled and advised in the way that is wisest and best.

In connection with the juvenile court are often found field workers or probation officers. These investigate the home life of the child who comes before the court. If they find that his parents have neglected him or given him the wrong kind of training, the court may remove him from his home and put him either in another home or in an institution meant for just

Keystone View Co.

A Children's Court in Session

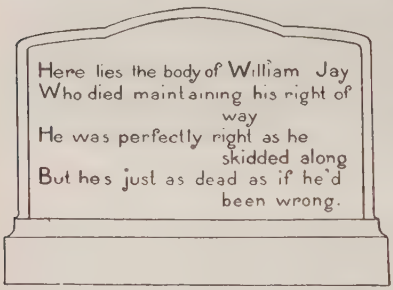
such persons as he. A great many young offenders who, after talking with the judge, realize that they have done wrong, are allowed to go free on probation. If they refrain from wrongdoing thereafter they are not made to suffer any direct punishment though they may have to report at fixed times to the judge or a probation officer.

It is thought that the first juvenile court was held in Chicago about 1895. The most famous of all juvenile court judges is Judge Ben B. Lindsey of Denver, Colorado. His work has been very widely advertised and his methods imitated by

many others. If wayward boys and girls or those who, right at heart, may have yielded to some temptation or gone wrong through some fault of their parents, feel that the judge and probation officers are really friends and that their desire to help is sincere, they will more often than not respond and try to make themselves better. "As the twig is bent the tree is inclined." If the twig is bent the wrong way, the juvenile court will try to set it straight so that it will grow up into an attractive tree in the garden of good citizenship.

Is it more valuable socially to take care of young criminals than of older ones? How much can be done by schools, individuals, or other private agencies to help along this line? What should be done with a hopelessly bad boy or girl? Do they exist?

Security in our lives and property is absolutely necessary to our progress. Carelessness and selfishness menace it on every hand. Fighting fires has become a life-work for men, and policemen try to get hold of wrong-doers. But preventing fire and crime is still more important. The work of protection is divided among national, state, and local governments, with the last having most of the responsibility.


Here lies the body of William Jay
Who died maintaining his right of way
He was perfectly right as he skidded along
But he's just as dead as if he'd been wrong.

WHAT GOOD DID IT DO HIM?
Did you ever see anybody who deserved a gravestone like this?

Crime is caused in part by individual weakness and greed, and partly by the conditions under which people live. Our chief motives in dealing with criminals now are to prevent crime and reform the criminal, rather than to take vengeance on him. We maintain institutions to which criminals may be sent when necessary, but usually try to deal with young offenders separately.

SPECIAL TOPICS

Our Local Fire Department.

The Great Fire of Chicago or San Francisco or — (your own or a neighboring town, if it has had one).

What to Do and What Not to Do when a Fire Breaks Out.

Our Local Police.

The Work of Thomas M. Osborne.

Resolved, that the honor system should be introduced in all institutions for criminals.

Judge Lindsey and the Juvenile Court. (If your community has one, study its work.)

A Modern Prison.

The Maintenance and Operation of the Poorhouse. (Study your own if possible.)

The Canadian Mounted Police.

Fire Insurance.

READINGS

McAdoo — Guarding a Great City.

Howe — A Modern City and Its Problems, Chapter 17.

Leavitt and Brown — Elementary Social Science, Chapter 10.

Reed — Form and Functions of American Government, Chapter 28.

Haskin — American Government, Chapters 4, 5, 11, 14.

Du Puy — Uncle Sam's Modern Miracles, Chapters 3, 18.

CHAPTER XI

BEAUTY

"We are concerned . . . with making our cities year by year in their physical arrangement and equipment, healthier, pleasanter, and more economical instruments for the use of the people who dwell within them." — *F. L. Olmsted.*

81. Beauty as a Force for Better Living. — Far more crimes are committed, far more ignorance exists, far more dirty politics appears, far more boys and girls run away from home, far more sickness occurs, in the ugly, congested parts of our cities that we call slums, than in the attractive districts. Our surroundings must have something to do with the way we live or like to spend our time. Able men have been known deliberately to choose to live in an attractive community rather than go elsewhere at larger salaries, because they could do better work in pleasant surroundings.

If a person lives in a dwelling cared for by those who know what beauty is, he is surrounded all the time by influences which unconsciously make him appreciate the better things rather than those which are crude and showy. If his house is kept clean inside and painted when necessary outside, if his lawn, whether large or small, is cared for, he cannot help getting into the habit of thinking that everything should be properly looked after. When he goes out from home to a public building, a public park, or some other place which he does not himself own, he is almost certain to carry with him that same respect for the appearance of things.

Carelessness in attention to one's home surroundings is likely to produce careless habits in some other phase of life.

But if we live among beautiful things, we are unconsciously influenced to live up to our surroundings. Moreover, other people enjoy looking at an attractive lawn or a well-kept house. The owner or keeper of such a place not only gives pleasure to himself and others, but may be encouraging them to make

MAKING THE BEST OF CIRCUMSTANCES

One woman has her flower garden even if she must grow it on the roof. But what sort of homes must these be at best!

their own home surroundings more attractive. Surely beauty, or civic attractiveness, if we choose to call it by that name, is something which every good citizen ought to aid and cultivate.

Is it natural for people to like beautiful things? Can there be a beautiful home life in ugly surroundings? Why did the early American pioneers pay little attention to civic beauty?

82. The Home Beautiful. — A beautiful residence or a beautiful city need not be exceedingly expensive. Possibly some of us have seen the houses of newly rich people, who

suddenly have come into money which they do not know how to spend, loaded with costly furniture and pictures and other stuff that filled up space but were grievously offensive to a person with a real sense of art. Good taste calls for proper harmony of colors in the decoration of the house. It proposes that the house shall fit its surroundings. A street on

Courtesy American Steel & Wire Co.

MAKING A YARD BEAUTIFUL

Sometimes a company encourages its workers to do this sort of thing by offering prizes for the best garden or lawn. But often the workmen need no special urging to make the surroundings of their homes pleasant to look upon.

which one house touches the sidewalk, the next is thirty feet back, the next halfway between, cannot have been laid out with any regard on the part of the house builders to the demands of good taste.

Surely people will be much more likely to seek to make their street, their neighborhood, and their community attractive, if in their own homes they apply the principles of good

taste. They will have a much better idea of what their community ought to undertake, and for what it ought to spend its money, if they have used good judgment in their own home. To make one's home beautiful, in the proper sense of the word, is not only a mark of good citizenship but an inspiration toward it.

Draw a plan for such a house as you would like to live in. Describe the way you would like to furnish the room in which you would receive most callers.

Suggest practical ways of beautifying, inside or out, a tenement

Southern Pacific Railroad Station, San Diego

Some stations are an eyesore to a community, but this picture shows that they may add to its appearance.

house; a single dwelling in a moderate-income district; a large place in a purely residential neighborhood. Is paint of any value except for looks? Should all the houses on a certain street be constructed on the same plan?

83. The City Beautiful. — Very likely some towns think their case is quite hopeless. They have been built solely for the purpose of carrying on some industry like making steel. They may have been set in surroundings where nature does not seem to have taken much pains. When either of these conditions exist, the task of a community is naturally harder

than if it has been founded on the shores of an attractive lake or river or with inspiring hills and beautiful forests always in sight. But no community has a right to refrain from trying to make itself attractive. It takes time for trees to grow in a desert, but what can be done by courage and enterprise is shown by the beautiful cities in southern California.

What are some of the elements that make a city beautiful? A beautiful city is clean. Its streets are wide, well kept, shaded, and well lighted at night. It has parks that are restful to the eye as well as attractive for recreation. It makes

An Attractive Street, Rome, New York

use of any opportunities that nature has given it, such as river banks and lake fronts to make an attractive approach to the city. It does not allow gaudy and glaring billboards at every turn. It insists that when its citizens put up their houses they shall comply with some reasonable standards, so that no offenses will be committed against the attractiveness of the whole community.

There are few more beautiful sights in a community than a street lined with rows of well-shaped, stately maples, oaks, or elms, with sufficient parkways, or grassy spaces, to give the trees plenty of room and add their touch of green to a

handsome highway. It takes years for such a street to reach its full glory, but it is well worth all the time and labor that it costs. Trees make the heat of summer more endurable and they purify the air, thus promoting the health of the people.

It seems to be best to put the matter of planting and caring for street trees in the hands of the local government rather than to leave it for each householder. In this way uniformity of appearance in a street can be most surely obtained and much more intelligent care will be afforded. Keeping trees from insects and other pests sometimes becomes a vexing problem, and this may be wholly neglected if left to private owners. It is not safe, either, to allow every householder, telephone lineman, or any other thoughtless person, under the pretense of trimming a tree, to hack it until its beauty is gone.

Can you tell one tree from another? Point out some differences in leaf structure or manner of growth. What kinds of trees would you recommend for your community?

Any one who has stumbled along a dark or dimly lighted street at night, looking for the number of a house which he wished to visit, realizes how important it is that streets should be well lighted. Besides, there is a certain glamour about a "great white way" that attracts people to a community which tries to look well by night as well as by day. But more essential than either of these reasons is the necessity of restraining crime. Good street lights are worth dozens of policemen.

It is a long way from the old whale oil or kerosene oil lamps, which once fitfully gleamed over a very limited area on the main streets of our cities, to the powerful arc lamps or clusters of lights which illumine the highways of our best cities today. Between the oil lamp and the electric light came the gas lamp, and this is still in use, especially in the regions where natural gas is abundant. But generally some form of electric light is preferred. Whether it shall be the arc lamp swung from a pole, a single globe at the top of a post, or a cluster of globes in some attractive shape, must be decided by taking into account

the effect we want to produce and the point to be served in each instance.

What kind of lighting does your community have? Is the lighting plant owned by the town or by a private company?

Almost every community has some place which it prefers that the visitor should not see. It may be a dump where tin cans, papers, old shoes, and worse-smelling things are heed-

ANOTHER ATTRACTIVE STREET

Not all well-constructed streets are in Europe or America. This one is in Peking. Compare it with the street on page 188.

lessly thrown. It may be a mosquito-breeding swamp or mudhole. It may be a filthy alley, unpaved, dark, strewn with bottles, garbage, and slime. Because some people are lazy, some are willfully defiant of decency, and some officers do not dare to enforce ordinances which prohibit these eyesores, they are all too common. To arouse public sentiment against tolerating such disregard of civic beauty and health is a work in which every child in school can have a part.

It is less easy to induce a bill-poster or advertising manager to refrain from destroying a beautiful landscape or offending one's sense of art by putting up gaudy billboards. The manager wants to increase his business and thinks this is the eas-

iest way to reach the people. The billboard man even declares that his signs add to the appearance of a street.

Perhaps it would be too much to insist that all advertising should be removed from the streets. But advertisements

From The Poster

THE BIGGEST BILLBOARD IN THE WORLD

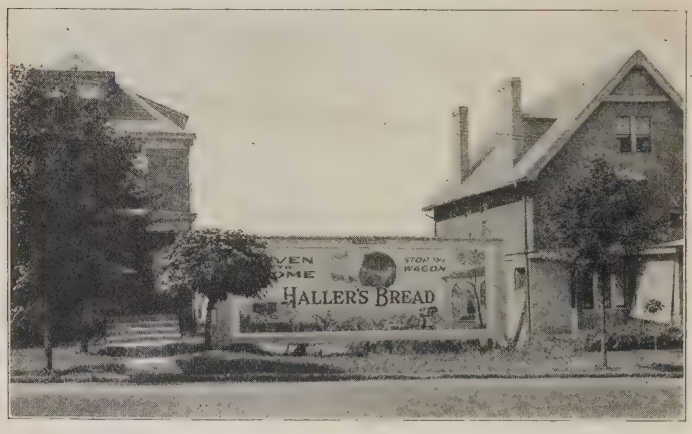
Chicago once boasted about this thing on one of her main streets, but she does so no more.

can at least be displayed in such a way as not to violate every sense of natural beauty and appropriateness. Spot after spot along the great highways is spoiled by some advertising sign. Some of the people who put up these signs say that they have been careful to erect them at dangerous turns in the roads. But even so, these signs are not necessary in the daytime and a warning light would serve the same purpose at night.

The billboard man and the owner of a house or vacant lot who allow their property to be used for such an objectionable purpose are equally guilty. A tax on billboards would probably reduce the number of them, and might be a step toward the removal of the most offensive. But after all, we could hit the evil more surely than in any other way by refusing to patronize the people who are responsible for these offenses against good taste.

What places in your community do you try to show to visitors? What places do you steer them away from?

The city which says it can't be done is probably the kind of city that never becomes anything better than an ugly group



Out of Place

The billboard is not unattractive — as a billboard. But how do the people in the houses enjoy it?

of houses put together by accident. Such a city never gets visitors to come back to it. Once is enough. But the community which keeps clean, which repairs its streets, which puts itself out to make the tourist's short visit pleasant, is going to receive advertising which will repay it in ways which it may not realize. Good sense and good citizenship both insist on the "city beautiful."

Did you ever see a hopeless town, from the standpoint of civic beauty? Is your community as attractive as it could be? What improvement could be made, if any?

84. Keeping a Community Clean. — One big feature in making a city beautiful is to keep it clean. A citizen cannot pass on to his officers all the blame if his neighborhood does not look the way he would like to have it. Each family can see to it that their own residence is kept in repair, if it belongs to them, and that it is kept clean whether it belongs to them or

One Way to Sprinkle Streets

How effective do you suppose this method could be?

not. The appearance of a front lawn or a back yard is mainly what the family makes it.

Streets littered with paper or strewn with all kinds of dirt indicate that the people of a community are either shamefully lazy or distressingly ignorant. It is discouraging to try to keep a lawn looking attractive if the street in front is filthy. When we see children playing in some of our streets — the only playgrounds some of them have, poor things! — we wonder not that disease is common among them, but how they keep well at all.

About the surest way to clean a street is to have the work done by men employed by the city, who go over its whole

surface with their brooms and carts. But the work of these "white wings," as they have been nicknamed, must be slow and therefore rather expensive. Machines with revolving brushes have been invented which sweep the dirt toward the curb, where it can be shoveled into wagons by men following the sweeper. A few places have used a kind of vacuum

Keystone View Co.

A "White Wing" at Work

This is the oldest and usually the most thorough kind of street cleaning.

sweeper on the streets. The sprinkling wagon does nothing more than lay the dust for a little while, and when the street has dried the traces of mud may be more noticeable than ever.

Does any blame rest on you if your street is not clean?

If the pavement is of a kind that will stand it, the water may be turned on the street from the fire plugs and the dirt thoroughly washed away. Some cities clean out their main business streets in this way at night when there will be little interruption from wagons or automobiles. By some means

the dust must be kept down and the heavier dirt removed. A preparation of oil does this work reasonably well on a dirt road, but on other kinds of streets some of the methods we have mentioned must be used. Each community must do its own experimenting and find what suits its own needs best.

Northern cities have in winter the problem of removing the snow from the streets, for in the big cities it does not stay long enough or pack down sufficiently hard to make the use of

Keystone View Co.

VACUUM CLEANERS FOR STREETS

sleighs feasible for any length of time. Work of this kind usually comes all at once, and in many places the city hires extra men for this special purpose, rather than to use the regular street employees. The snow may be dumped into a river or a vacant lot. The idea seems to be, "Anywhere to get it off the streets."

Does it make any difference whether the snow and ice are cleaned off the sidewalk in front of your house?

Some communities, especially cities and towns that have factories, find the soft coal smoke nuisance a very serious prob-

lem. It once was the fashion to argue that smoke means business and business means prosperity. It would hardly be sensible to ruin a community's industries for the sake of keeping spotless. But now intelligent business men and intelligent citizens generally know that the smoky city is likely to be a wasteful city. The materials that pass off in smoke can often be made use of industrially at a considerable saving.

TROUBLES OF STREET TRAFFIC IN WINTER

The street railroad uses both the snow plow and electric crane to clean its tracks. What more will have to be done to make the street passable?

The by-products of the burning of soft coal, if properly cared for, will wholly or largely make up for any additional cost in installing smoke consumers and paying men to operate furnaces properly.

That smoke from soft coal is itself dangerous to health has not been positively proved. But anything that helps to keep a city dirty and shut out the sunlight cannot promote good health. This dirtiness produced by unnecessary smoke causes an expense of thousands of dollars every month in a vain attempt to keep clean. The injury to plants and other growing

things and to property of any kind that is exposed counts up to millions more in a short time.

It is usually easy to induce a factory manager to use improved methods when he discovers that the change is going to be an actual money gain to his own business. Those who

THE SMOKY CITY

Artistically and industrially the picture impresses you. Would you like to live in this neighborhood?

are stubborn and will not be convinced can be brought to terms by a few prosecutions. It therefore rests largely with each community whether it will be grimy and ugly-looking or reasonably clean.

How many of these problems of cleanliness, or some others, trouble your community? If you have any local problems, what is being done to remedy them? What effect do railroads have upon the appearance of a city?

85. Zoning. — Progressive cities today are not content to let anybody start up any kind of business or construct any sort of building anywhere he pleases. When that is allowed,

the result invariably is that no one can tell when he buys a piece of land what the neighborhood is going to be in the future. If he puts up an attractive dwelling house he has no assurance that his next-door neighbor will not open a garage or a grocery store. When that occurs, immediately his own place becomes much less desirable to live in.

In many European cities it has long been the custom to divide the city into zones. Each zone is set apart for a certain

WHY ZONING LAWS ARE NEEDED

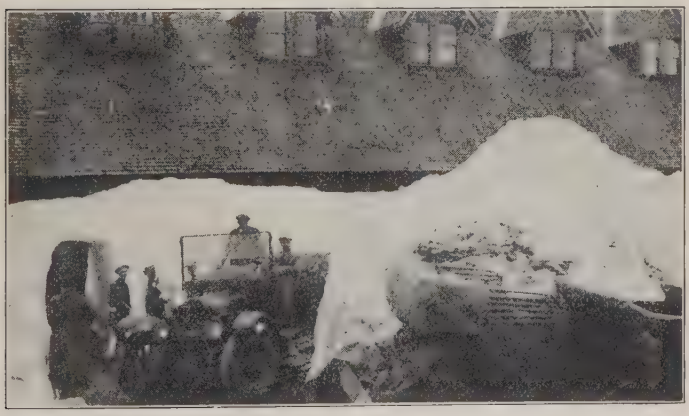
This was an attractive street but these garages spoil it all.

purpose — one for factories, one for business houses, another for single family residences, another for residence buildings of any kind, and so on. This plan helps to keep the value of property in a district fairly stable, for then only one sort of buildings may be erected in one section. To crowd all business places into one section of a large city would be extremely inconvenient. But enough business zones in different sections of the city could be permitted and business places kept out of the purely residential district. Other regulations may limit the height of buildings in different districts.

New York was the first large city to take up this problem officially. But now many cities, large and small, have adopted

regulations with reference to this matter. It surely will help to keep our cities beautiful as well as to prevent the wrong that is done when a selfish person uses his property in utter disregard of the effect of its use upon his neighbors.

What are meant by "building restrictions"? What sort of people might be opposed to zoning? What argument would you use with a person who asserted that it was nobody else's affair if he could improve himself in a business way by turning a part of his house into a store or automobile accessory shop? Would it add to a community's attractiveness to be a noiseless town? Is noise a sign of life? Make a list of the unpleasant noises that you notice in your community. Do you have any "quiet zones"? If so, how are they indicated? Where should quiet always be insisted upon? What would you think of a local ordinance that would forbid the playing of pianos



In Glacier National Park

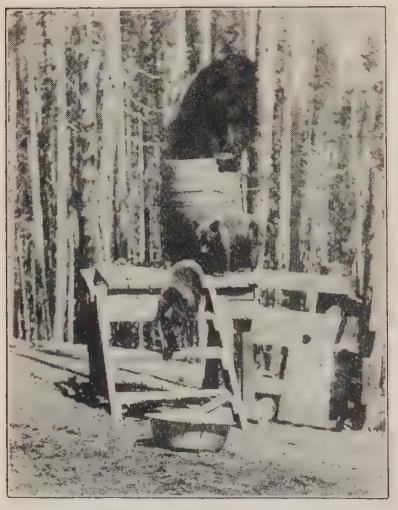
Would you think that tourists could enjoy such experiences in July?

or victrolas after 11 P.M.? (They have such rules in some German towns.)

Are church bells a form of unnecessary noise? Should newsboys and hucksters be allowed to call their wares anywhere and at any time? City people who go to the country sometimes complain that they cannot sleep. What do you suppose is the trouble? Can you offer any suggestions for reducing the noise in your own community? Can we expect to make a town wholly noiseless?

86. State and National Parks. — We have already referred to parks as features of a city beautiful and shall speak of them again in connection with the subject of recreation. Any community with a sense of the fitness of things will try to have some sort of park, even if it does nothing more than beautify the "square" or some other street intersection.

But there are wonderful scenes of beauty miles away from any city or town. For many years our government paid little attention to the preservation of these wonders of nature from greedy individuals. An ambitious man with an eye to business might get possession of some great natural wonder and then make himself rich by charging admission to the public who wish to see it.



FRIENDLY VISITORS

The bears in Yellowstone Park are a source of great interest to tourists. Here is a mother bear getting a meal for her cubs from the hotel garbage barrel.

To prevent this sort of thing and to prevent waterfalls and other features of scenery from being ruined by being used for purely commercial purposes, our national government has set aside a good many national parks and national "monuments." The first of these was Yellowstone National Park, which occupies the northwestern part of Wyoming and reaches over into Idaho and Montana. Glacier National Park in Montana, and Yosemite National Park in California are other well-known districts set aside for the enjoyment of every citizen who can get there. It is unfortunate that most Americans have to travel hundreds or thousands of miles to see these

scenic wonders and national playgrounds. But every year more and more of our citizens reach them by train or by automobile. Perhaps the time will come when a person will not consider himself really educated until he has seen the Grand Canyon of the Colorado or the Big Trees of California or the geysers and glaciers of some of our other parks.

Several states have also taken similar action in regard to regions within their own borders not subject to the national government. New York has made the grounds bordering on Niagara Falls a state park. Another notable park has been preserved by the states of New York and New Jersey on the banks of the Hudson where the famous Palisades are located. If some such reservation were not made, it would not be very long before some parts of the Palisades would be covered with signs of somebody's cigarettes or cough drops. It does seem too bad that the seeker after business has no thought whatever of the harm he does to the sense of beauty and the opportunity to appreciate natural attractiveness that citizens have a right to enjoy.

Which would be more valuable, if you could not have both, a year at college, or a tour of the great scenic wonders of the United States?

Beauty ought to be a definite goal, for the home and the community. It may come from the use of good taste in building and decoration, or from preserving natural scenery. Trees, street lights, street cleaning, and smoke prevention help to make a town attractive. Zoning prevents the appearance or use of a district from sudden deterioration. Billboards and dumps have their places, but many of them are out of place. It is a government's duty, whether local, state, or national, to prevent selfish greed from destroying natural beauty or depriving others of the privilege of living in attractive surroundings.

SPECIAL TOPICS

Pipes and Wires in the Streets.
The Location of Railroads in Cities.

Making ——— a City Beautiful.
Getting Rid of the Smoke.
Street Trees and Parkways.
Systems of Street Lighting.
Our National Parks.
Seeing America.
A Tour of Our Town.
Billboards and What to Do with Them.

READINGS

Howe — The Modern City and Its Problems, Chapters 15, 16.
Haskin — American Government, Chapter 30.
Beard — American City Government, Chapters 9, 14.

CHAPTER XII

CONVENIENCE

"I'll put a girdle 'round about the earth in forty minutes."
— Shakespeare.

87. Planning a Community. — The three most notable objects in planning a community are convenience, health, and beauty. If a city is laid out properly in the first place, one needs to waste little time in finding his way through corkscrew streets, but can go straight to one street from another. To a modern business man "time is money" in a very real sense. In a properly planned community the streets are wide enough and well enough arranged to allow the winds to sweep through and clear away foul air. Buildings are not permitted which force their tenants to live without privacy and comfort, without fresh air and light and safety. A small back yard with perhaps a little garden can furnish rest and pleasure to every workingman if other thoughts than money-grabbing are at work when his part of the city is laid out. Beauty is almost as easy to have as ugliness, if some one plans for it soon enough.

In the business buildings or residences of your community does there seem to have been any definite idea about their location or relation to their surroundings?

Most communities were not planned. They just happened. It is striking to note the difference within the same community, when we compare the older part of it with the part that was laid out since people began to realize that city planning is important. Boston and Pittsburgh are good examples of cities

that merely "happened." One can easily accept the tradition that Boston's streets follow the lines of old cow-paths, when he looks at a map of the city, or better still when he tries to get around in the city before he has been there long enough to get his bearings.

IN THE CANYON

People who work in places like this sometimes humorously call themselves "cliff dwellers." Narrow streets with tall buildings like these are found in a number of our cities. With business buildings of this kind already constructed, it would be an expensive proposition to widen the street.

The older part of New York City shows somewhat the same state of affairs, in contrast with the later portions, where the long avenues run north and south and are crossed at right angles by streets numbered in regular order. Philadelphia is another city that is laid out on the checkerboard plan, at least that portion of it between the Delaware and Schuykill Rivers.

The one fine example of a well-planned American city is Washington, conceived by the genius of the Frenchman, Major L'Enfant. The Capitol is the center of the city's plan. Streets running north and south intersect at right angles with others running east and west. To vary the monotony of the scheme, and to promote the beauty and convenience of the plan, a system of diagonal avenues intersects the "checkerboard." Where the avenues and streets come together, little parks known as "circles" are formed.

Really a beautiful city is our national capital. Some of the European capitals have also gained an enviable reputation for their beauty and convenience.

A city located on an ocean or lake frontage, with a harbor, ought to keep its business district in proper touch with its wharves, and yet, if possible, not force its residential sections

AN UNDEVELOPED WATER FRONT

How attractive this river bank could be made in comparison with what it is! Near the buildings a new piece of apparatus for putting out fire is being tested.

away from the sight and breezes of the water. A town situated on both sides of a river has a still different problem to deal with. Sometimes conditions below the earth's surface require that substantial business blocks be built at a certain place in order to give them a solid foundation. When that is the case, the plan of the city simply must be adapted to that fact. A plan suitable for level ground, like that on which Philadelphia is situated, would be utterly out of the question

for the hills of San Francisco, Kansas City, or Seattle. Pittsburgh has all these difficulties to contend with, and some others.

What traces of this problem do you find in your own community?

The checkerboard system of laying out streets has met much favor in many places. It is the simplest method and makes it easy to identify any particular spot. Especially if an orderly scheme of naming the streets is observed and the plan of letting each block count for 100 in numbering houses is

PLANNED FOR THE FUTURE

This town of Gilbert, Minnesota, has not yet put up very imposing buildings, but its main street would accommodate the traffic of a fairly large city.

employed, even a stranger would have little excuse for getting lost. The most serious objections to this system are the monotony of appearance which it produces and the necessity of going around too many right angles in getting anywhere.

But if this plan is modified by laying out diagonal avenues from the heart of a city to its outer corners and by constructing boulevards to encircle the city and reach its beauty spots, it is likely to serve a greater variety of conditions than any other. Some people like the spider-web as a model for laying out a city's streets. Detroit partly follows this idea.

What system of naming and numbering streets seems best to you? How would your system work if applied to Pittsburgh or Kansas City? What systems are used in any communities that you know about?

The idea of having a *civic center* appeals strongly to city planners today. By this term is meant a group of public buildings such as a courthouse, city hall, post office, library, or other institution frequently used by the people, located where they will be convenient of access by street car or otherwise from all sections of the city. This will naturally be at the point where some of the most important streets intersect. If these buildings are well arranged and a small park with foun-

A Community Civic Center

In this picture appear part of two universities, a great public library, two large halls for holding public meetings, an athletic association building, a Masonic Temple; a big hotel, and a fine baseball park.

tains, monuments, and the like, laid out, a sense of unity and an appreciation of beauty will be promoted in the minds of the people more than by almost any other means.

In a large city it would be undesirable, of course, to have every library, school, and museum crowded into one section. In that case several smaller centers should be created to serve different sections of the city. Parks and playgrounds are likewise needed, so placed that all the people can enjoy them without great expense for car fare or waste of time.

Perhaps you think that all this talk of city planning is a waste of breath in a long-established community. It is true that it is more work and costs more to tear down buildings in order to lay out a broad, beautiful avenue than it would have been if the avenue had been planned before the buildings were erected. Yet a city seldom regrets improvements after they have been made, if the money which they cost has been honestly spent for good work.

Three times Pittsburgh pared off the "Hump," as a steep hill that hemmed in its business section was called, and the same city has raised several of its streets many feet to keep them above the floods of the Allegheny River. Boston has filled in its Back Bay and changed it into one of its most attractive sections. New York has allowed tubes and tunnels to be built under the Hudson and the East Rivers, and up and down the whole rocky back of Manhattan Island. Seattle washed away the greater part of a hill which stood between its business district and a part of its water front. Los Angeles, having no harbor, reached out twenty miles and annexed one, spending millions of dollars to improve it.

Yet the cost and trouble of all this work are constant reminders to every community that it is good sense to think ahead, to reason out the direction in which a city is likely to grow, and to plan for a growing and beautiful city rather than a stagnant and ugly town. After a community's business streets are all built up closely, it is like crying over spilt milk to bewail their narrowness and congestion. If a town, when it grew, left no place for parkways or breathing spaces in its crowded districts, there is not much hope that business houses will be torn down in order to put trees, grass, and flowers in their place.

Is there anything which your community can do or ought to do to improve its physical appearance or arrangement? Draw an ideal plan for your own community, or for some other real or imaginary place.

88. Constructing Streets and Highways. — The simplest way to maintain a road and also in the long run the most unsatisfactory, is to expect everybody to keep the road in condi-

tion in front of his own residence. In cities and towns any such makeshift system is seldom tolerated, but we still find it in some of the back districts. To lay out a new street or highway, usually there must be an ordinance passed by a city or

CUTTING THE HUMP IN PITTSBURGH

This picture gives you some idea of the work involved in grading or regrading a street.

borough council or town meeting or other local authority. If a highway is to be repaved or relocated it usually also requires a special ordinance.

If a very extensive piece of work of this kind is undertaken, money is often secured by selling bonds on which interest must be paid for a number of years. But most often the owners whose property will be benefited by the improvement must bear the expense in proportion to the value of their property. Amounts beyond that sum will be paid by the public treasury. Repairs of all streets are usually attended to at public expense. Sometimes, when a house or lot is damaged by cutting through a new street or changing the grade of an old one,

the owner will be paid for the damage instead of having to contribute to the cost of the improvement.

The main purpose for which a street is to be used determines largely its width, general plan of construction, and kind of paving. A street in a residential district where there is little heavy travel can be constructed less expensively and need not be so wide as a business street, unless special provision is made for trees, grass plots, and uncommonly wide sidewalks.

Courtesy Portland Cement Association

A Pretty Residential Street

Thirty feet from one curbstone to the other is a fairly satisfactory width for such a street.

To furnish variety and add to the beauty of a district it is well to have some residential streets of more than ordinary width, with plenty of provision for trees and perhaps a stretch of grass or a row of flower beds in the middle of the street. Streets on which street railway tracks are laid should be several feet wider than would otherwise be necessary. A residential street is much more attractive if the houses are not

crowded close upon the sidewalk, and if they are not all of the same construction.

The main item for consideration in a city business street is convenience, but that does not need to mean that all trees and everything else suggestive of beauty must be removed. Some business streets do not need to be broader than the main residential highways, but the most important business streets ought to be at least 100 feet wide. They must generally permit two lines of car tracks, and should have room on each side for at least two lines of vehicles to pass, one of automobiles or

A Narrow City Street

Where do you suppose this is? How satisfactory would this be if automobiles were used extensively there?

other fast travel, and one nearer the sidewalk for slower traffic.

In many of our large cities much narrower streets than this are the rule, but the city with narrow streets must put up with delays in traffic and other inconveniences which a better planned city need not suffer to such a degree. A city that has to be encumbered with an elevated railroad should by all means keep it off the main business streets, or they will not be able to accommodate the ordinary surface traffic. Many cities

are troubled, too, by delays to street cars when stubborn wagon drivers keep their teams on the car tracks as long as they possibly can.

The proper surface for a street depends upon the principal uses to which it is put. A street that is to be used for heavy teaming must be paved with material that will stand hard pounding. Block stone or cobble stone seem to be necessary for such streets, particularly if they have any noticeable

Courtesy Portland Cement Association

ON SHERIDAN ROAD, NORTH OF CHICAGO

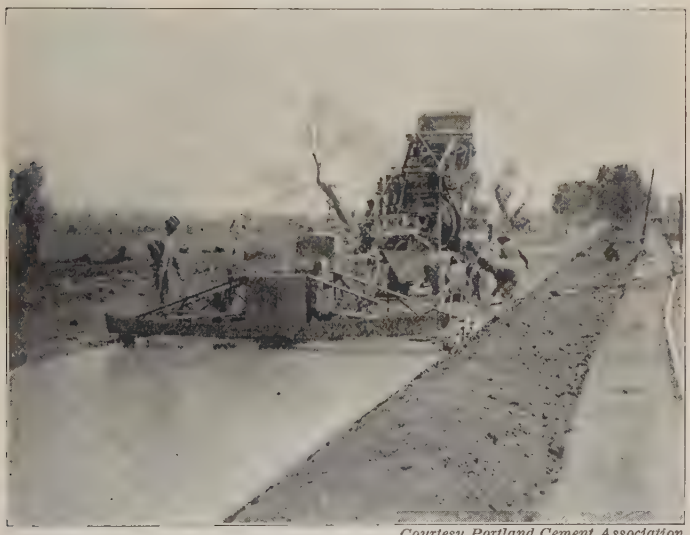
This beautiful highway is lined with the residences of some of Chicago's wealthiest families.

grades, in spite of the roughness and noise which cannot be avoided with such paving.

Some cities have experimented with wood blocks on their business streets. These are generally made of yellow pine treated with some kind of creosote or tar preparation which adds greatly to their wearing quality. They are smooth and almost noiseless, but somewhat slippery in wet weather. For streets whose chief traffic is automobiles or light wagons, sheet asphalt is very commonly used, especially in the resi-

dential districts. It is attractive in appearance, smooth, and not very noisy, but is not safe to use on steep grades.

Brick pavements are found in both residential and business streets. They are comparatively easy to repair and cost considerably less than the kinds above mentioned. Some city streets, as well as many park roads and country highways, are macadamized; that is, their top coating is made of fine crushed



Courtesy Portland Cement Association

CONCRETE ROAD UNDER CONSTRUCTION

Near Fowler, Arizona.

stone rolled hard and perhaps treated with a tar or oil preparation to bind it together and keep down the dust.

There is much more in paving than simply laying down the surface material. Constructing streets is an interesting undertaking. A surveyor is sent out to measure and mark off the exact location and size. Next, a foreman with a crew of laborers digs up the street, and grades and levels the soft earth. After it has been duly prepared, a layer of coarse concrete six to eight inches thick is laid down.

When the concrete base has become sufficiently well hardened, a thin layer of coarse asphalt or sand is spread over and rolled. The coarse asphalt is used when the street is to be paved with a final layer of smooth asphalt. When the paving is to be of bricks, cobble stones, or wooden blocks, a layer of sand is substituted.

After the smooth top layer of asphalt has been rolled, it is coated with a fine, light gray colored powder, presumably to counteract the natural stickiness of the asphalt. When the street has been in use several days, dust is automatically substituted as the drying agent. Lately, when heavy brick block has been used, the street has been given a thin coating of fine concrete, in the effort to make it a little smoother.

The use of concrete for highways outside of cities as well as for some within city limits has increased enormously in recent years. There was for a time some question as to its durability. But road makers seem to have been convinced that it lasts as long as any other material. And when in good condition it furnishes a smooth, speedy roadway that is hard to beat.

What type of street construction prevails in your community? Why? How often are your streets repaired and by whom? Draw a plan of a good business street; of a residential street. What kind of pavement would you prefer in front of your own house or place of business? If you lived on an unpaved street, how would you go about having it paved? What kinds of streets need repairing soonest? Why?

89. Roads and the Farmer. — Rural roads have often been a joke. They were drifted with snow in the winter, axle-deep in mud in the spring and fall, and dusty as the desert in the summer. Farmers were allowed to work out their taxes by putting in time supposedly fixing the roads, but seldom doing much that was of very great value.

But the intelligent farmer has now realized the penny wise, pound foolish nature of such a policy. He wants as good roads as anybody. The farmer today cannot amount to anything if he lives a hermit life. He sells his produce to com-

A Pennsylvania Road Before It Was Paved

Courtesy Portland Cement Association

A Pennsylvania Road After It Was Paved

munities miles away and buys many things from them. If he is to keep in touch with the rest of his neighborhood, he must meet with them at church, at the Grange, at the fair, or the political meeting. His family may also have to travel some distance in going to school or to the other meeting-places we have just mentioned.

How vitally important, then, is the country road! How much less it costs in time, energy of man and beast, in wear and tear of wagons and harness, or in gasoline, if the road is

Setting up Markers on the Lincoln Highway

smooth and reasonably level! And this matter is of importance to the city dweller too; for he must have the farm produce, and if it costs more than it should to get this to the railroad station, he must pay an extra sum for this waste of time and energy.

The national government itself has realized the seriousness of the problem; in 1916 it began the custom of appropriating several millions of dollars a year to be spent in assisting those states which are trying to improve their rural roads. The Office of Public Roads in the Department of Agriculture is

constantly experimenting in road construction, and is always ready to give states or local communities the benefit of its discoveries. Most states are taking up the work in earnest. Great stretches of macadamized, gravel, or concrete highways reach for miles upon miles where once were nothing but muddy, dusty, or stony wagon-tracks. And yet all the paved roads plus all those whose improvement is now under consideration will make only about seven per cent of the country's highways.

We must give considerable credit to the automobile for stirring up new interest in making good roads in both city and country. Many a tourist today thinks nothing of traveling a couple of thousand miles in the summer, camping at night by the roadside or in some one of the tourist camps that enterprising towns have established for this sort of visitors. Associations of automobile owners and other interested people have planned highways reaching across broad areas of the country. Best known of all is perhaps the Lincoln Highway, extending from coast to coast. The Yellowstone Trail also goes from Plymouth Rock across to the Pacific. The Dixie Highway has been planned to go across the country from north to south.

A Kind Word to the Tourist

The triangle and the words within it show the way Wisconsin marks her state highways.

Several states have adopted plans for naming or numbering their highways that are a great convenience to visitors. They lay out routes of considerable length and mark them every few rods with a number painted on a telephone pole or some special signboard. Then a traveler who keeps his eyes open has no excuse for getting lost, if he looks at his road map before he starts out in the morning and knows where he wants to go. If in addition to marking the highways, the State Highway Department keeps them constantly in good repair, the traveler when he goes away blesses the state for the good time it tried to show him when he was its guest.

Often the roads outside of the towns or boroughs are much better than those within. Some local officers justify such a policy by saying that the automobile driver would menace the lives of children, chickens, and anything else in his way if he could go through the town on good roads. But the tourist usually vows he will never come back to that town or let anybody else come if he can help it.

Ruts — what causes them? Are they dangerous? What other complaints do autoists make against rural roads?

If you have not already made a map of your township or county, do so now. Show on it all the public roads, indicating what kind of construction they received. Do you find any that need repairs or improvement? Why isn't it done? Consult farmers or teamsters who can tell you what it costs to carry freight in your neighborhood and how much difference it makes to them whether the road is good or poor. Study also the kinds of roadways sufficiently to determine what kind is best for your section. If you have the chance, observe a piece of road under construction. Notice the grades, ditches, culverts, tools used, and any other features of importance.

In how many ways is a farmer benefited by highway improvement? Why do Chambers of Commerce and Commercial Clubs often take an interest in rural highways?

90. Old and New Ways of Getting There. — In speaking about planning communities and constructing highways, we might give the impression, if you did not know better already, that we have always had some sort of highways and that the

problem was simply a question of how to do the work in the best way. But in telling the story of transportation we might almost give a history of civilization itself. The more highly developed are a nation's means of transportation and communication, the further along has in general the enlightenment and progress of its people gone. In the great manufacturing industries of today it is rare that all the raw material they

Earliest Transportation — by Water

need, such as coal and iron, is found in precisely the same neighborhood. One has to be carried where the other is. This is even true, in large measure, in industries that depend upon the soil, such as in the great meat-packing business which is one of our largest industrial activities today.

The earliest means of transportation was by water. No one had to construct any roads to use this sort of transportation, and it was no more trouble to make a boat than a cart. All the great cities of ancient times were situated on rivers or seas. At first muscle power, which employed oars to move boats, was used. Then sails were put up, so that the wind as well as men's muscles could help in moving boats and their cargoes. Then larger boats, sometimes with several banks of rowers to propel them, came into use. Not until

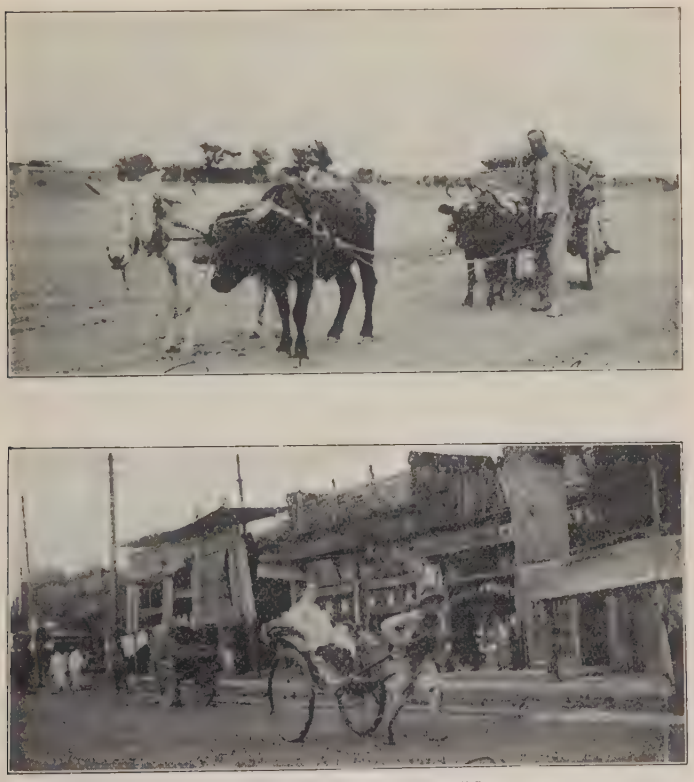
the compass was invented did men dare to go far out of sight of land, and not until steam was used in propelling ships could very rapid time be made.

Professor Carver has suggested that the carrying of goods by

Land Transportation — First by Man, Then by Animals

land is the story first of the use of humans, then of animals, then of wheels, and then of tracks. Perhaps today we might add "wings." The first routes of travel on land were simply

paths over which men could carry as much as their strength permitted. When they used the donkey or the horse and piled goods upon his back, the possible load was considerably increased. The next step was constructing carts with wheels.



The Next Step—the Use of Wheels

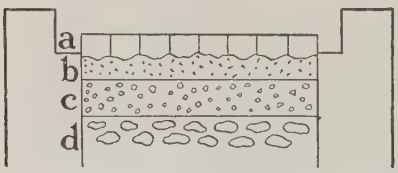
As soon as this point in the history of transportation is reached we find that good roads seem to be necessary. The dangers from robbers and other sorts of foes were so great that for a long time it did not seem wise to construct many extensive highways. The Roman Empire, which first established a really effective peace among the people of the ancient civilized

world, sought to keep its empire together by constructing highways that stretched for miles after miles.

The history of the roads of the United States is one of the things that we usually prefer to say little about. Until after

A Late Step in Transportation — the Use of Tracks

the Revolution there was hardly anything fit to be called a road anywhere in the United States. The first "turnpike," which ran from Philadelphia to Lancaster, was opened for business in 1792. A turnpike usually meant a road constructed by some private company which charged toll for the privileges of using it. Later, people often used the word to mean almost any sort of improved road. Then first the canal and later the railroad came along as important agents in transportation, so that the ordinary roads failed to receive the attention that they might otherwise have obtained. Today the automobile has brought back people's interest in good highways and



An Old Roman Road

a. Pavimentum; *b.* Nucleus; *c.* Radus; *d.* Statumen. Ask your Latin teacher what these words mean.

we are again using about the same language that the ancient Romans must have used in discussing the need of road building.

How many of these forms of transportation, or others, do you find in studying the history of your own community?

91. The Story of the Railroad. — A century ago what we call the locomotive began in a crude way to take form at the hands of the Englishman George Stephenson. There were "railroads" before his day in this country and elsewhere,

WHERE THEY STILL USE HORSES

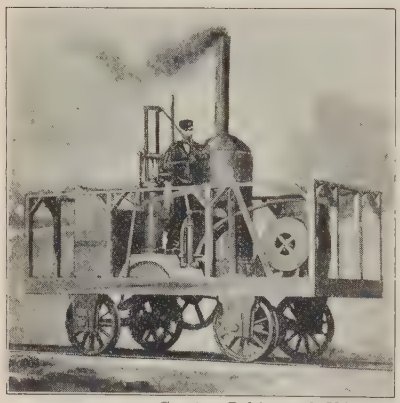
On Mackinac Island, Michigan, automobiles are not allowed. It is a real pleasure sometimes to spend a few days in a place like this.

but they were what the name signifies — just lines of rails, first nothing but strips of wood and then wood with thin strips of iron stretched on top of it. Even after the people began to talk about the advantages of the railroad they imagined that possibly a railroad might be used by anybody who had the wagons to draw upon it, just the same as the ordinary highway.

The first railroad was rather shakily constructed. The coaches had very much the shape of the ordinary stage-coach, and the engine was little more than a boiler on wheels. The

first real railroad system to be planned in the United States was the Baltimore and Ohio. This was started largely to hold for Baltimore some of the trade of the Middle West, which was going to New York by way of the Erie Canal after that waterway was opened.

The first roads were usually short lines. Very few extended over 100 miles. As late as 1883 there were 210 railroads that could be listed among those of at least mentionable size. Not until later did the combination of these roads into our present great systems take place. By this time other extensive improvements in the equipment of the railroad had begun. Sleeping and dining cars made railroad travel more comfortable, and the air-brake made it safer.



Courtesy Baltimore & Ohio R.R.

THE FIRST LOCOMOTIVE IN AMERICA

This is a crude engine, but its appearance meant much to the United States.

Not long after the Civil War, the so-called transcontinental lines were begun. Strictly speaking, no railroad in the country is transcontinental, for no road that reaches the Pacific Coast comes any farther east than Chicago. But the great extent of country which these westward lines traverse causes us to give them that name. The first one to be opened was the combination of the Union Pacific lines and the Central Pacific in 1869. Now we have at least eight lines that would probably consider themselves transcontinental.

Railroads constitute the greatest business in the United States today except agriculture. We depend upon them to keep our nation going. Let us enumerate some of the services they render.

(1) They have tied the land together as if with great bands of steel, connecting at first the East and West and now the South and North as well. Without them it would be by no means easy to keep our vast area together. They bind us politically as well as industrially.

(2) They have encouraged wonderfully the expansion of the nation westward. Even if people could not quite reach by rail the new lands they wished to occupy, they could get a long way toward them. And sometimes the railroad was there first and brought the settlers along after it.

(3) They have built up big cities and indeed made them possible. Industry can be centered there and can ship its products all over the country, while the raw material and the food that the people of that city need can be brought in from all directions.

A Modern Railroad Station

Where is this? Could you tell from the looks of the wall and the other building in the picture that this is in Peking? The Chinese are not all as backward and unprogressive as some of us think.

(4) They enable the producers of goods in one part of the country to sell their products hundreds or thousands of miles away to people whom they will never see. They carry goods so that people may have them where and when they are needed. In this sense they are real producers of marvelous importance, even though they actually make little that is new.

(5) They have broadened the knowledge and culture of the people, by encouraging travel and the distribution of information by newspapers, magazines, and letters.

(6) They have made all sections of the country dependent upon the others and all of them dependent upon the railroads — sometimes for the very means of keeping alive. When a serious labor disturbance occurs that concerns the workers on the roads we discover how much their operation means to us and what a calamity it would be to have them closed up and the puffing engines silent, even for a few days. So necessary do they seem to the welfare of a nation that the questions arising from their control and operation are among the most important that this country or any country has to settle.

Find out what countries have the largest amount of railroads in proportion to their population and see how they compare in progressiveness. Would California, Oregon, and Washington be a part of the United States today if we had no railroads? What influences determined the routes which railroads should follow? Are poor people better off because of the railroads?

Do you enjoy traveling by railroad? What pleasant or unpleasant features do you find in it? Of what use are parlor cars and sleeping cars for any other purpose than comfort?

92. The Story of the Post Office. — We want to tell things to people as well as carry goods to them. To a progressive people communication is perhaps not a bit less important than transportation. Indeed we cannot keep them apart even if we should try. The railroad and the steamboat make both possible.

Closely united with the railroad in the minds of most of us is the post office, for today an enormous part of the post office business of the country is carried by the trains. But the idea of the post office existed, even in this country, far ahead of the railroad. In the days of the Roman Empire, couriers made their way carrying dispatches much the same way our mail carriers do today. Only nine years after Boston was founded, a house in that town was opened as a sort of post office, and before the end of the 17th century an officer was appointed by the English government as a sort of postmaster-general in the American colonies. When Benjamin Franklin assumed that office in 1753 the history of the American post office may be said to have begun.

As soon as our government was organized under the present Constitution, the postmaster-general assumed charge of the 75 post offices that then existed in the United States. The revenue received from the post office at that time was about $37,000. Today we have about 52,000 post offices and would have 25,000 more if it were not for our rural free delivery. The income of the post office in a year is nearly $500,000,000.

When regular stages were first run to carry mail, the postal charge depended mainly upon the distance a letter was

Courtesy Postmaster General

THE INTERIOR OF A LARGE POST OFFICE

The packages are being distributed into bags for different cities and states.

to travel. It was at one time twenty-five cents for over 300 miles. In fact it was not until the middle of the 19th century that the practice of charging a fixed rate for a letter going anywhere in the United States was adopted. Postage stamps, too, did not come into use until nearly that time. Very often it was expected that the receiver of the letter would pay the postage rather than the sender.

Today our post office department employs more people than any other branch of the national government. Its postmasters, their assistants, the clerks, city carriers, rural carriers, and railway mail clerks count up to over 200,000. Most of these positions are filled only after a person has taken a civil service examination to show that he is in some way fit for the

Courtesy Postmaster General

DISTRIBUTING MAIL ON A RAILWAY MAIL CAR

Mail is thrown into bags, which are put off the train at various points along the road.

important kind of work which he has undertaken. All this post office business is in the hands of the federal government. No state and no private citizen may undertake to do this work in competition with the national government.

Our post office does many things besides carrying letters and newspapers, as most of you doubtless know. Its money order system was started in 1864 and has been very greatly developed. The rural free delivery was begun about 1896 and has done wonders to keep our farming districts in touch daily with

what goes on in all parts of the country. About the most recent expansions of our postal service are the establishment of the postal savings banks, where a person may deposit as much as $2500, and the parcel post, which has taken up the business of carrying packages from one place to another.

We spend in most years more money on our postal service than we receive. Is this good business policy?

Find out the way mail-matter is classified, and the charges demanded on each class. Make up some examples for the class to solve. What are the rates to foreign countries? What is the Universal Postal Union?

The postal savings banks pay only 2½% interest a year. Ask some qualified person whether they could or ought to pay more.

93. Traveling by Water. — The waterway, we have said, was the first highway. There is no reason why it should not always be a big factor in the transportation systems of our country and of the world. It costs less to carry goods this way than any other. It is slower, though, in carrying its cargoes, except the very large shipments of goods which only a great ocean liner can accommodate. Enterprising people usually think they are in a hurry, and so when some swifter means of transportation is proposed they are likely to abandon the

Copyright, Edwin Levick

A Sailing Vessel

This type of ship was once much more common than it is today.

slower kind which for many purposes may serve them just as well in the long run.

We have mentioned (§ 7) the wonderful abundance of good harbors which form one of the great natural endowments of our country. The seaport cities and towns which have sprung up on these harbors are and will be extensive means of trade among us and with other nations. But of the thousands of miles of navigable rivers and lakes within our borders and on our boundaries a considerable portion cannot be fully useful unless they are improved by man. In many of these

Canals and Canal Boats of the Old Days

A scene in Pittsburgh about 1837.

streams there are rapids and falls and shallows which make travel dangerous for boats of any size. It is often necessary to construct short canals around some of these obstacles or build locks and dams in the rivers themselves to permit boats to travel on them safely. Our federal government spends considerable sums of money each year in improving these streams and trying to encourage the use of them for commerce.

There was a time when the Mississippi River steamboat, for instance, was a striking institution in that part of the coun-

try. Then when the railroads came along, the steamboats found their business growing less and less and many of them were withdrawn from service. Now there is considerable talk about reviving the use of these rivers and new types of boats have been constructed to operate on them. But since people have got into the habit of using the railroads for almost everything, it is hard to change their customs.

From about 1820 to 1840 a regular craze for the construction of canals seemed to sweep over the country. The success of the Erie Canal, "Clinton's big ditch," running from Lake Erie to the Hudson River, caused many other states and private companies to imitate it. The proposers of these canals did not realize what the railroad was going to do to them and the country. Millions of dollars were sunk in canal construction. Considerably more than half of the canals that were dug during that period are not in use today. New York State has within recent years spent $100,000,000 in reconstructing its famous canal, and now calls it the New York State Barge Canal. The state has with only mild success tried to secure for the canal the business which theoretically it ought to get but which people do not seem very ready to give.

Some canals of much value have recently been opened, however. The canal across Cape Cod, for instance, saves many miles for boats that traverse our eastern coast waters. To handle the business which would otherwise have to go longer distances on large steamboats or be carried much more expensively by rail, a system of canals running all the way from Virginia to New England parallel to the Atlantic Coast has also been proposed and has in part already been begun. The proposed Pittsburgh and Lake Erie Canal is another project which should mean a tremendous saving in the cost of carrying the ore from the iron mines of Minnesota to the steel mills of the Pittsburgh district. The "Soo" Canal between Lake Superior and Lake Huron is traversed by vessels which carry a heavier cargo in a year than any other canal in the world.

If water transportation were not already so old we might almost say that it is in its infancy, because we have not begun to make use of it as extensively as we should. Railroads cannot possibly carry anywhere nearly all the traffic for which the industries of the United States are responsible. With the increasing cost of operating the railroads, the expense of such transportation would itself encourage people to try some other method of shipment. People who ship by water must, of course, ship goods that are not perishable and plan their ship-

One of the Most Notable
This is the Soo Canal from Lake Superior into the St. Mary's

ments far enough in advance so that the goods can be ready when they are needed. But if our business men can learn to do this our water transportation will take its place where it belongs. Pleasure travel by water on the Great Lakes and from one coast to another, not to mention across the oceans, is steadily increasing. It is quiet, clean, and restful — not all of which could be said of railroad traffic or even of the automobile.

Why is water travel much safer than it used to be? Why cheaper? If you were to travel 3000 miles, would you prefer to go by rail or by boat? 300 miles? 30 miles?

94. Electricity in Transportation. — Recent years have seen a wonderful expansion of the use of electricity as a motive power in transportation.

The steam road cannot readily lay its tracks everywhere. Besides, if its trams are to make good time, they cannot stop at enough places to suit the convenience of a great many. Local street railway lines are therefore a necessity. They have existed in some form in our large cities since the middle of the 19th century. Their development has been surprising.

Copyright, A. E. Young

CANALS IN THE WORLD

River. It carries more freight than any other canal anywhere.

It is now possible for even a low-paid workman to live out of the crowded district in reasonably comfortable and healthful surroundings. The street railway can touch every section of a great city and make communication between all its parts easy and relatively quick. Some suburban lines run heavy cars that make almost the speed of the steam road.

Interurban lines between one city and another have been rapidly constructed, too. Not only do they serve the cities which they connect, but they contribute greatly to the comfort and convenience of the farming country between. Such

lines usually carry both passengers and freight. The social value of the street railway in the city and the suburban or interurban lines in enabling people to live in comfort in the open districts amid conditions favorable to health and happiness is not always appreciated as it deserves.

We may want to laugh when we look at a relic of our early street cars. They were small, cheap affairs drawn by horses. After a time cable lines were constructed. The cable was underground, kept constantly in motion by powerful engines,

A Great Lakes Passenger Boat

The vessel has stopped for a few hours at Mackinac Island, Michigan. Many people take trips on these boats for a few days of rest and change.

and the cars had an appliance for gripping or releasing the cable when it was desired to move or stop. A city with steep hills, like San Francisco, found a cable a great benefit. In fact cable lines are still in use there and elsewhere on very steep grades. But about 1886 electricity began to be tried as a motive power for street railways. The greater speed that was possible and the other evident advantages of electric power caused a rapid substitution of electric for cable or horse power wherever it could be done.

The constantly growing traffic and the great number of wagons and automobiles using the streets of a city make street

car progress slow in the business districts, especially if the streets are narrow. Since surface lines alone cannot give satisfactory service, several large cities have constructed subway

A Form of Transportation in a Hilly City

Strong cables are the means of moving the cars up and down the incline.

or elevated lines. London and Paris in Europe have famous subway systems.

Boston was the first city in this country to construct a subway, which is operated as part of a combined system of surface,

subway, and elevated lines. Philadelphia also has a system constructed on the same principle. New York has extensive lines of both subways and elevated road, but they are operated separately. Chicago has an elevated system and is planning for a subway also.

The quality of service afforded by street railway lines varies greatly. The people are constantly demanding smoother,

Copyright, Boston Photo News Co.

ELEVATED AND SURFACE RAILWAYS IN BOSTON

more substantial tracks, and more and better cars. A single modern car costs over $10,000. Chicago has adopted a plan by which the city is to get a portion of the street car company's profit if they go beyond a certain per cent, and has the right to buy the lines after 25 years. Ownership of street railway lines by the city is favored by many people. San Francisco actually has a municipal line in addition to the lines of a private company, and Detroit has taken over the lines formerly privately managed.

Electricity is being used on the larger roads, too, in place of steam and soft coal. New York City for some years has enjoyed the use of electric engines within its limits in place of

steam engines, and some other cities have also been thus benefited in a less degree. The Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul Railroad uses electricity for power on its main line through the Rocky Mountains. The Pennsylvania Railroad has already worked out plans to use electricity in several additional districts. Whether the time will ever come when electricity will entirely take the place of steam, no one can fore-

Courtesy Westinghouse Electric Co.

AN ELECTRIC ENGINE

The New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad was the first to use electricity for drawing its trains fairly long distances.

tell. To set up the necessary wires and poles is a rather expensive task, but the operation of electric lines is more economical after it has once been instituted. Electricity will surely take a steadily more important part in furnishing the power for our railroads.

Would it be well to forbid driving wagons on street car tracks? Is the slogan, "No seat, no fare," sensible? Are "jitney busses" a nuisance or a blessing?

Would the electrifying of steam railroads increase community attractiveness?

95. Other Means of Communication. — The mail is not fast enough to suit some people. Indeed, where would our newspapers be if they had to depend upon the mail service alone for their information? The American's curiosity makes him want to know this hour what happened the hour before. Business men, too, want to put through their deals without the delays attending letter writing. In operating railroads, how much more satisfactory it is to send a message in an instant from one station to another about the arrival or departure of a train or the place where one train is to meet another, than to force trains to lose valuable time waiting for others. And so the telegraph and the telephone play a big part in making swift and convenient the business and pleasure of today.

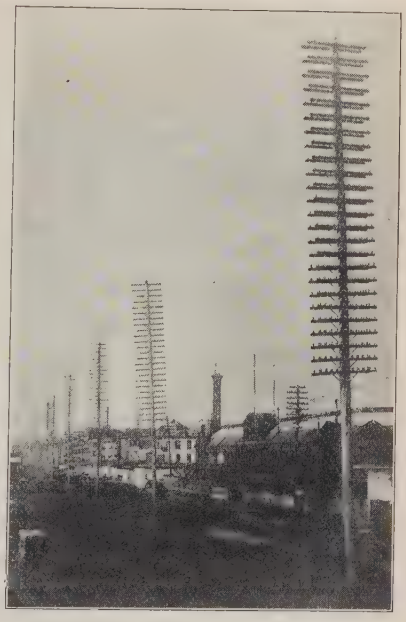
The telegraph was the invention of Samuel F. B. Morse. The first successful telegraph line for any distance was set up between Washington and Baltimore in 1844. The first words sent over it were striking: "What hath God wrought!"

Today the greater part of the telegraph business in the United States is handled by two companies, the Western Union and the Postal Telegraph. Many thousands of miles of wire stretch all over the land, even to places where the railroad has not come. Undersea cables, the first laid under the direction of Cyrus W. Field, reach across the Atlantic and the Pacific and keep the Old World and the New in constant touch.

But why bother to send a message in dots and dashes when you can talk with the man yourself? When Philadelphia celebrated the 100th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, there was exhibited a sort of toy by means of which it was said that a person at one end of a line could make himself heard by a person at the other end. This instrument, for which Alexander Graham Bell was responsible, was the beginning of the mighty telephone system of today. The Bell Telephone Company with all its various subdivisions

and branches handles the biggest part of this business. Through its agencies people in Boston can talk with friends or customers in San Francisco, if they pay the price. The various inventions which have improved our methods of conveying sound now enable us in a most uncanny way to hear clearly in our own homes what somebody is saying or singing thousands of miles away. We have smaller telephone companies also carrying on a profitable business.

The telephone, too, is not by any means confined to the city. In fact, nowhere is the use of the telephone more common than in some of the distinctly agricultural parts of the United States. Taken the country over, two farmers out of every five have telephones, and in states like Iowa and Illinois there is about one telephone for every family. Who will talk about the isolation of the farmer's life, when with this instrument in his house he can get hold of anybody he wants to talk to and his wife and daughters can learn all about anything that is going on in the neighborhood?



Old-time Telegraph Poles

Putting wires underground has done much to improve the appearance of streets.

But now we even talk without using wires. Here we must bring in the name of a foreigner, Marconi the Italian, who perhaps first proved that sending messages through the air without wires was feasible. The most brilliant accomplishments of the wireless thus far have been in bringing aid to ships on

fire or in some other distress at sea. A surprising development of the radio, as we most often call it today, has occurred in the last few years. Firms engaged in the sale of electrical apparatus have set up stations in many parts of the country, and private citizens in their own homes have their instruments with which they can hear music, addresses, baseball scores, and almost anything else to which one would care to listen.

Just how important the radio is going to be in business remains to be seen. There will need to be some practical method of preventing a message from being caught by people for whom it is not intended, or else the commercial usefulness of the radio will be seriously limited. But such a problem would hardly seem to be a serious one to the inventive genius of the people of today.

96. The Prospects of the Future. — Dare we prophesy as to what the future will afford us in the way of convenience? When the railroad was first proposed people ridiculed it. They said that it was impossible, and that if it could be operated it would scare all the horses, and the sparks from its engines would set fire to the houses which it passed. There was something in these fears, but today such objections sound childish. It sometimes seems as if we have reached the limit for speed that trains can safely travel. Our air-brakes, signal systems, and steel coaches have made it almost as secure to travel as to stay in bed. And yet all these have come inside of half a century. There are plainly great possibilities, also, in the use of water transportation and of electric power on the railroads.

Some believe that in the near future much more of our freight will be carried by auto-trucks, especially for short distances. If this should be the case, it will make the problem of highway construction somewhat more serious even than it is now. But the railroads cannot deliver all freight quickly. In some places they are welcoming the trucks as valuable supplements to their own facilities. Extending the "ship-by-

truck " idea may mean a greater demand and a higher price for gasoline. But perhaps somebody will present us with a really serviceable substitute for gasoline.

The possibilities of the airplane, too, are unlimited. Man apparently has just begun to learn to conquer the air. He has the sea and the land fairly well mastered and it is not at all unreasonable to expect that he may sometime find it just as natural to get aboard an air express to Chicago as he now takes

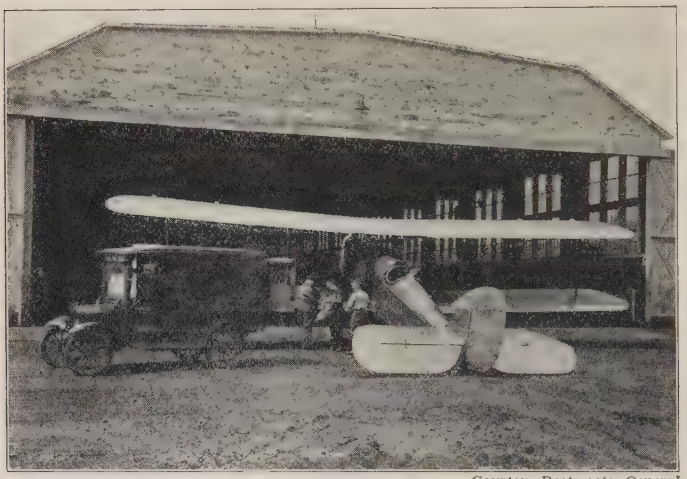
BIRDS OF THE AIR

No, these are airplanes from the United States Aviation field near San Diego. They were celebrating the signing of the Armistice in 1918.

the 20th Century or the Broadway Limited. Already regular commercial and passenger air lines travel from London to Paris and between other cities in Europe. The airship in its various forms has served a considerable purpose in war, and it may become equally useful in peace. Thus far in this country, however, except for carrying mail, the airship has served principally as a source of profit for a few who carry passen-

gers wishing to see what it is like, or who engage in risky stunts to furnish thrills for the people below.

During the Great War some wondered, too, whether submarine traffic might not some time become common. Just now there seems to be no particular reason for it — for why should people want to travel under water when they can travel



Courtesy Postmaster General

THE AIR MAIL SERVICE

Some of our mail is now regularly sent from one place to another by airplane.

on top? Yet its possibilities seem to be proved by many of the things that happened.

In view of all that men have done for the convenience of their fellow-men by exercising their genius, one would be very hasty to say that anything is impossible in the years to come in developing even these fields with which men have just barely become acquainted. Puck, whom we quoted at the beginning of the chapter, was pretty slow, after all.

What are some of the problems to be solved before air transportation becomes general?

If the radio is extensively developed, will ocean cables be necessary? Will it be possible to call up "Elysées 5737" and talk to a friend touring in France?

Show how transportation and communication affect the social institutions we have studied, and how they apply to the other "helpful conditions" for social welfare.

Convenience is brought to us by many agencies. Scientific street planning, solid highways, canals, railroads, telegraph, telephone, radio, and airplane help us to travel or receive news or goods promptly. Their history is really the history of civilization. Man-power, wind-power, steam-power, and electric-power have all helped to make progress possible. The inventors who have made these conveniences practicable are among humanity's greatest benefactors. Yet we cannot set a limit to the possibilities of the future in these respects.

SPECIAL TOPICS

A Plan of Our Community. (Every pupil should prepare one, making it as complete as possible.)
Plans of Other Communities than Our Own.
A Plan of an Ideal Community.
Our Street Railways.
A Plan for Improving the Transportation System of ——.
Electric Power on the Great Railroads.
The Lives of Famous Inventors.
The Great Telephone and Telegraph Systems.
Great Railroad Systems.
The Story of a Letter.
The Pony Express.
The Railway Mail Service.
How Our Post Office is Managed.
The Highways of Our Community.

READINGS

Lessons in Community and National Life, B–10, B–27, C–1, C–27, C–28.
Roper — The United States Post Office.
Warman — The Story of the Railroad.
Gillette — Constructive Rural Sociology, Chapter 11.
Carver — Elementary Economics, Chapter 19.
Carney — Country Life and the Country School, Chapter 6.
Ross — What Is America? Chapter 2.

Casson — The History of the Telephone.
Given — The Making of a Newspaper.
Burch — American Economic Life, Chapters 29, 30.
Haskin — American Government, Chapters 6, 17.
Marriott — Uncle Sam's Business, Chapters 27, 40.
Du Puy — Uncle Sam's Modern Miracles, Chapters 11, 13, 14.

CHAPTER XIII

COMFORT

"The New Social State, whatever it may be, will not endure nor be worth preserving, unless it has room within it for simple play, and pure fun, and uncommercial joy, and free, happy, wholesome recreation."— Van Dyke.

97. The Things We Want. — We have said that everybody is out for happiness — happiness of the right kind, we assume. But it takes a sturdy soul to consider itself happy when living is hard and comforts are few. Not to have to worry all the time about keeping the wolf from the door; not to wonder where the next day's meals are coming from; not to be obliged to put in most of one's waking hours struggling to keep alive for another day of struggle — surely to be free from such worries and anxieties is an exceedingly helpful condition of progress.

Economists tell us that "the sum total of human wants is indefinitely great." In other words, no matter how easily contented you or I may be, when the desires of all of us are put together they are so numerous that we cannot fix any definite limit to them. Now what are some of these things that we want?

Some things we *must have* in order to live and be happy. Most important are air, food, clothing, and shelter. Few of us, however, are satisfied with these mere necessities. We *want* not only bread and water to keep us alive but meat, potatoes, butter, and a variety of other things to give interest to our bills of fare. We want clothes that add something to our personal appearance as well as keep us from freezing. The

workman wants the special tools that his trade requires him to have. We enjoy lectures, music, entertainments of various kinds — and we have not mentioned in this list a single one of the luxuries, pure and simple, for which many people are willing to spend what they get.

Make a list of ten things which you personally want because you must have them. Make a list of ten things which you do not positively need but which you want because you enjoy them. Make a list of ten things which you would like to have but do not have, telling why in each case. Mention some of the things you would buy if you had $100 to spend promptly; if you had $10,000. Would the $100 list include anything which the $10,000 list would not?

The sum total of all the material things which an individual or a community possesses is called *wealth*. The wealth possessed by a community as a whole is *public property*. The wealth possessed by individuals or families or corporations is *private property*. For any of the various forms of wealth we sometimes use the word "goods." A *good*, to use the singular number, is anything that will help to satisfy a want. Used in this sense the work has no moral quality whatever. The want or desire which it satisfies may be either beneficial or harmful.

Goods themselves are of two kinds. *Free goods* are those gifts of nature which exist in such abundance that we can have them for the taking — such as air and sometimes water. *Economic goods* are those which in some way are made useful by human effort and which we can obtain only by making some sacrifice for them. By sacrifice we do not mean suffering. But if a person pays five cents for a pencil, he is depriving himself of the use of the five cents in getting something else, even though the purchase of the pencil is in no way a burden to him.

In providing the things we want, too, we make use in many ways of those human activities which we call *services*. The work of the doctor, the teacher, or the newspaper man may not

result in any material thing which you can see or measure. Yet it plays a big part in helping us to obtain the things we want.

Now why do we want all these goods and services? (1) As we have already noticed, some of them are *necessities* if we are to live — air, food, shelter, and clothing. (2) Most of us wish to enjoy *comfort* beyond mere existence. (3) Some people like to possess things because of the *prominence* they think it gives them. Wealth seems to carry with it a certain distinction. The rich man often can make headway not only in business but in politics and elsewhere, when the poor man seems somehow to find it hard to get recognition. We are not saying that the worship of wealth is right, but we are talking about facts and this seems sometimes to be a fact. (4) We want some things for the sake of *service to others*. The teacher may want books so that he can instruct his classes more thoroughly. The doctor or dentist may want his various instruments so that he may better take care of our health. The minister or the missionary may want those material things that will help him to go out among human beings at home or abroad and give them comfort and uplift and words of cheer which he could not bring to them without the help of material "goods."

98. How Standards Differ. — Indeed, it is because we want things and our wants become every year more varied, if not greater in amount, that the world makes progress. When people cease to want anything new, look out for their community. It has started going back. When Abraham Lincoln was a boy he lived in a log cabin and managed to keep warm before an open fire. When he went to town he went on foot or on some old horse he was fortunate enough to borrow. Electric lights, telephones, and many other things we consider necessary had not even been heard of during Lincoln's lifetime.

Today we consider all these things either necessities or at the very least conveniences which we should not care to do

without. When people began to want telephones there were more and more demands for the materials used in constructing telephones. These new demands caused still further activities and still more wants. The old saying is literally true: "The more we have, the more we want." Delivery wagons and vacations were once unknown.

Does education increase or decrease a person's wants? Do civilized peoples have more or fewer wants than uncivilized? Are people with many wants happier than those with few wants?

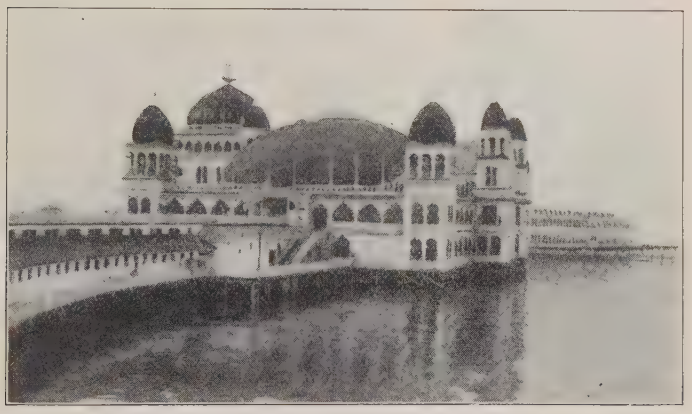
Our wants vary, of course, under different circumstances. The cost of living in the country is usually considerably less than in the city. Many of the staple articles cost about the same in the country as in the city. But people in the country raise more of their own food products. You can buy milk directly from the man who owns the cow and usually get butter and eggs at a lower price than in the city. There is less expense for showy or fashionable clothes in order to keep up with somebody else. A nickel or more for car fare every time you go any distance, expensive theaters or frequent attendance at cheaper ones — these are missing from the country man's expense bill, to his decided advantage. There is a difference between places, too. Rents in Pittsburgh or New York are considerably higher than in Baltimore. If the total amount of money in the community is great, the price of almost everything will be higher, even though the amount is not at all evenly distributed.

Study your own community and see whether it has any peculiarities that will make you pay more or less to live there than any place else.

99. Essentials and Non-Essentials. — "The world owes every man a living." So some people have said, usually in excusing themselves for not working. We will not accept this statement, if it means that the world owes a loafer a living. But if a person is honest and industrious how much has he a right to expect?

Food we must have, and surely one may expect enough to keep him strong and healthy. Every one may reasonably ask for clothes enough to keep him in health and comfort, and some sort of dwelling where he may enjoy a real home life.

But man is naturally a sociable creature. He not only likes but really needs some form of recreation and some change outside of the routine of his daily life. He can rightly ask that he may at the same time lay by a few savings for his old age. He ought to have some chance, too, for improving



At the Bathing Beach on Great Salt Lake

They say you can drown yourself here but you cannot sink.

himself mentally and morally, both for his own benefit and in order to become a more capable and valuable citizen. He should also be able to give his children such education as will make them intelligent, self-reliant, and honorable.

That every one may have all these things is surely not too high an ideal for a community or a nation. To have less, indeed, would mean that one was handicapped at the start in the race of life. And there is in the world enough of the needful things to supply each human being, if no one acquires more than his share.

Should all people expect the same things, in quality or amount? Has any one the right to expect more than another? How may we decide whether a person's desires are good or bad? When might a desire for an automobile be good and when harmful? Are a community's desires always good? Could a community desire too many churches? Mention some individual desires that usually are positively bad; some that might be good or bad depending upon circumstances. Are there any individual wants a person may gratify without having any effect upon the community?

Are these essentials: electric lights, bathtubs, furnaces, davenports, tennis racquets, bank deposits?

Is it reasonable for people to go beyond the essentials and to spend money on luxuries? Our answer will depend somewhat on the way we define "luxuries." The desire to have some comforts and conveniences is one of the chief incentives to work. If it were not possible to obtain such rewards for extra services, a great many of us would not work after we had provided ourselves with mere living.

But suppose a person pays $20 for a pair of shoes when a pair at $10 or less would have served him just as well. Suppose a housewife buys strawberries at $1 a quart. Suppose, like the Newport man who was once elected to Congress, a person wears a new pair of silk stockings every day and then throws them away. People who indulge in this sort of thing are usually those who have more dollars than sense and cannot help showing it.

Sometimes it is urged that even if money is spent for unnecessary things it is better than to hoard it where it will do nobody any good, and that it gives other people work in providing these luxuries. Yet when money is spent in this way, it is used to obtain goods which are of little or no benefit to those who receive them; and the people who are engaged in producing these useless goods, or rendering these purely ornamental services, are taken out of the ranks of those who perform some worth while function in society. Moreover, can anything good be said of the example set by such wanton waste? When money is virtually thrown away to gratify

the pleasure of a minute or a desire for mere show or vanity the person who does so must feel a pretty heavy burden of proof resting upon him.

Many a time when a labor disturbance takes place, the grievance of the workers is not so much that they cannot live on their previous wages as that they think their employer is getting such big profits that he can pay them more. When they see him apparently having trouble acquiring enough summer houses, city palaces, and cars to use up his income,

Where a Millionaire Lives

they think it is time they showed him how to divide some of his surplus wealth.

What would be the result if one had all the luxuries he desired? Can such a condition exist? Would a perfectly contented community be progressive? Make a list of ten things that for you would be luxuries. Under what circumstances would you be justified in asking your father to spend money for any of them? in buying them from your allowance or earnings? Would any of these ten things be luxuries for Mr. Rockefeller?

But supposing we have limited our desires to those things that will benefit us and not harm the community, how may

we hope to obtain them? There are a few great principles which are of first importance.

(1) The surest and safest way to secure the things we want is by honest and faithful work. Things acquired by this means may seem to come slowly, but they usually come. For most of us there is no other way to get them. Besides, there is much real satisfaction in the fact that we have earned the things we get.

(2) No one has the right to take for himself anything that belongs to another or to supply his own needs or wishes by making another suffer. The Golden Rule is not only good morals but good business.

(3) If individuals will not respect the rights of others, then the people as a whole have the right and duty to protect those who suffer and to restrain those who use their strength unfairly. "Might makes right" is a doctrine that never was true and that no one in any nation should be allowed to practice.

(4) We must use intelligently the gifts of nature and obey her physical laws. We cannot long violate these without suffering ourselves or causing others to suffer.

Should a person have any different standards of conduct in business from those which he maintains in his private life? Is it practicable to observe the Golden Rule in business? If these principles which we have stated are sound, why does not everybody observe them?

100. Why Some People Are Poor. — "The poor ye have always with you," said Jesus nearly two thousand years ago. No less true are those words today. With all our fine clothes and automobiles and millionaires, there are probably at least 15,000,000 people in the United States who are not properly supplied with those things necessary to keep them in sound health and simple comfort.

Such a condition is what we mean by the word "poverty." One third of this group belong in the class called "paupers" — that is, they receive help in some form from the government

of city or state. These are not all in public almshouses — only 84,000 were found there when the census of 1910 was taken. The rest of the 5,000,000 were helped in their own homes. For these conditions we may distinguish three general groups of causes — physical, individual, and social.

The *physical* causes are those which are not due to any human agency. They may reduce thousands to poverty for a little while, but are not at work all the time. The San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906, and the Dayton flood of 1913, were hard in the extreme while they lasted, but did not inflict permanent distress upon any great number of the people who suffered from them. A plague of grasshoppers or army-worms may make the farmers in an entire section of the country feel the pinch of want for a season, but they come only once in several years.

Individual causes are more likely to operate year after year. One of the most common of these is sickness. If the wage earner in a family is laid up a long time, he and his family are deprived of his wages while he is sick. Then it is sometimes almost a hopeless task to pay doctor's bills, return borrowed money, and to keep the family in decent living at the same time. Moreover the worker's strength may never again be what it was before he was sick or hurt.

Some others are always poor because they do not know how to handle money. When they get a cent, they spend it, perhaps for some extravagance or unnecessary pleasure. Others make foolish ventures in business or permit themselves to be defrauded by a sharper in a get-rich-quick game. Some are mentally incompetent to do anything in a first-class manner. And some poverty is due just to plain laziness or unwillingness to work. Some people will never keep a job more than a few weeks.

Bad habits are also a prolific cause of poverty. The evening address of too many young fellows is the pool room. Others spend wholly inexcusable amounts on tobacco and cigarettes. Intemperance in liquor, it is estimated, has caused

50 per cent of all poverty. Gambling and betting has not only put many into financial straits, but tempted them to crime.

Social causes of poverty are those which proceed from the environment in which people live or the persons with whom they are associating. Low wages and irregular work are almost sure to produce it, and of course unemployment for any

LIFE IN THE TENEMENT DISTRICTS

How does this place seem for a playground?

long time is disastrous to the ordinary wage earner. Unhealthful living or working conditions may produce sickness, and this in turn may result in poverty. A great misfortune such as a financial panic or war may bring distress to thousands who in ordinary times are perfectly able to keep themselves and their families in comfort.

Besides, some poverty is actually the result of the greed and unfairness of others. When some one takes more than he has a right to have, what he gets must be at the expense of some one else. The people who are getting less than they deserve are often not able to exert sufficient power to attain their just dues.

Sometimes several of these causes of poverty may be operating at once. Poverty may or may not be a disgrace to the poor, depending upon what has caused it. If a person's distress is due to what we commonly call hard luck, he has no reason to be ashamed, providing he has done his best to make his own way. If it is his own laziness or carelessness that has

Blind, so He Says

In the course of a day, this man may get his cup fairly well filled. Do you think it is good policy to permit public begging of this kind?

got him into trouble, however, he must not blame society for the unpleasant things which come to him. There is a sense in which it is perfectly true that "the Lord helps those who help themselves."

101. Charity, Wise and Unwise. — In attacking this disagreeable problem of poverty, there are two lines along which we may proceed. (1) We should try to discover what the causes of the trouble are, and then try to remove them. (2) But since it may take a long time to clean up a city or an industry,

humanity and common sense tell us that we must give some relief to the needy before we can hope to remove all the causes of their need.

Over two phases of this problem there has been sharp difference of opinion. Should the help that is given be limited to establishing poorhouses and other charitable institutions and requiring those who are helped to live there, or should the poor be helped in their own homes? The former method is often called *indoor* relief and the latter *outdoor* relief. Again, should private individuals or societies feed and cure and clothe the poor, or should the municipal or state government do the work? Very likely all of these forms of help will need to be employed to some extent, for the conditions under which poverty occurs are by no means the same with every person or family.

One thing is certain: giving aid to people who really do not need it may produce far more harm than good. It may take away from them the energy and enterprise which all ought to have and impose an unfair burden on those who try to provide for their own needs. Help should always be of the kind that is really needed. If a family is starving, it is better to give them food than money, lest they spend some of it for going to the " movies." If they are sick, it is better to pay a doctor to go and see them than to hand the family five or ten dollars.

The best results can be obtained from charity only when all charitable societies work together. That is why in many cities organizations called the Associated Charities or United Charities are formed, and why these private charitable societies should work in harmony with city or state boards of charities. If coöperative work is not done, the same individuals or families may receive help from several sources, and while pretending to be poor may live in great comfort, while worthy poor people may be entirely overlooked. Both " overlooking and overlapping " are to be avoided.

But with a capable central organization it is possible to refer each case to the organization which is best suited to deal

with it. Investigation can be made to determine whether help is really needed and what kind is most called for. Something can be accomplished, too, toward helping a poor family to live better, and perhaps a job can be secured for some one who is out of work.

If you have had any experience with work done among the poor, do you think they appreciate it?

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In the Municipal Lodging House, New York

Here men who cannot afford to pay much for their food can get something nourishing at a low price.

The town, the city, and the county do most of the work of caring for the poor and unfortunate, as far as this is done by the government. Most of the larger towns in New England keep a "poor farm," where the destitute ones who have no friends or relatives to care for them are sent. Cheerless places these usually are, though if a warden or matron happens to feel that in rendering this service some real Christian work is being done, even a town-farm can be kept tidy and comfortable. Outside of New England it is common for the county

to take over this duty, except that the large cities have institutions to care for their own poor.

It was once the custom to put the old, the pauper, the epileptic, the feeble-minded, the insane, and the lazy all in the same place, and to treat them all with about an equal amount of neglect. Such inhumanity has now almost disappeared. At least insane and poor are kept in different parts of the institution, and the children are kept away from both. Much of the work about an establishment of this kind can be done by the inmates, even by the insane. In this way the expenses of operation are kept down and the inmates themselves are better off for having some healthful employment.

Children who have no homes are sometimes kept in public institutions, but an effort is often made to find real homes for them. This work is done much better than formerly. It is unusual now to find the "bound children" of years ago, who had to be veritable slaves to some close-fisted farmer or factory manager until they were 18 or 21 years old.

To what degree of relationship does any obligation exist to support a sick or poor relative? Do you think a child brought up in an orphan asylum gets a good training for life?

In most of the states there is a state board of charities which has a general right to inspect the poorhouse and hospitals of the state. Especially if the state maintains them or gives money from the state treasury to help support them, they must be conducted in a way to please the state board.

Is there any excuse for tramps or "hoboes"? Why do they exist? How should they be treated? Is it wise or desirable to give a "hand-out" to the beggar who comes to your kitchen door, or money to the blind man who plays an old accordion or hand-organ at the street corner?

102. Preventing Poverty. — While we are relieving the distress of the needy and suffering, we must still keep on trying to prevent its occurrence. How much can we do in this respect? Probably we can never get rid of it entirely. No

knowledge that we now have can prevent storms and grasshoppers and earthquakes. But if wars were at an end, if saloons were closed forever all over the world, if slums were wiped from the face of the earth, much poverty would disappear along with them. This sounds like a big proposition, but it is after all not an utterly impossible one.

A Cheap Hotel

This is all some people can afford to pay for. The fire department insists upon fire escapes to protect those who are unfortunate enough to spend any of their time here.

To remove the individual causes of poverty is also a long and slow process, because it may have to be done for people one by one. If poverty is due to ignorance, we must extend and improve people's education. If it is due to bad habits or laziness or extravagance, our only hope is to try to impress each person with a sense of his own responsibility, not only to himself but to his associates and the community in which he

lives. If the cause is found in the system of society and industry which prevails, we may some time have to organize the whole system on a different basis.

We have already taken some steps. To relieve the poverty and distress caused by loss of time through accidents, many states have passed " workmen's compensation " acts, which provide that when a workman is injured while at work his employer must pay him a certain sum during the time he is laid off. Special referees are needed, who consider claims under the laws and decide whether they are justified.

A number of states have passed " mother's pension " laws. The principle of these is that the mother who wishes to spend her time and energy raising her children should not be forced to go to the poorhouse in her old age or have her family broken up if she is unable to provide for them all properly. When a mother in such circumstances shows her need, she may get a small sum per week for herself and her small children. General old age pension laws and compulsory insurance acts, such as some European countries have, are frequently talked about in this country but have only just begun to appear in our state legislation.

What dangers must we guard against in connection with workmen's compensation and mother's pension systems?

103. Why Recreation Is Needed. — We have come to the point today where we believe it is a good thing for everybody to take a day off occasionally — and not only a day, but a week or two. The mill-worker, the clerk, the teacher, and the business man, all feel better and more nearly equal to their task if they can have a change for a little while each year. You know the old proverb, " All work and no play —." In the long run it is probably a good business proposition, for if each one is feeling lively and well he will accomplish far more during the time when he does work.

But vacation, amusement, and recreation do not always seem the same thing. Recreation is what we really need — *re-creation* of the vigor of mind and strength of body which make

it possible for us to perform the tasks of our daily life and work. Any amusement or way of spending the time which does not do this is a waste of hours, money, and vitality. Recreation is not gadding about, wearing one's self out. On the other hand, recreation is not necessarily "loafing"; it can often take the form of the busiest industry. The chief thing to remember about recreation is that it should be a contrast to the individual's usual work, and that in its very dif-

CHILDREN OF THE SLUMS

See how eager they are to get even the chips of ice that the iceman has no use for.

ference it should bring complete relaxation to both the mental and the physical faculties.

Now is it possible for every one to secure the recreation that he needs? The farmer and the villager usually have plenty of room and open air. But how is it in the city? A private house and yard, even the mansion and the wide surroundings of a millionaire, cannot accommodate the people of a community. The community must do it if it is to be done. Private citizens in order to make money will open moving picture

houses and amusement parks, where they charge everybody something to get in, and by so doing they cannot help limiting the number of those who should get whatever recreation can come from such places.

FISHERMAN'S LUCK

An outdoor sport which many people enjoy immensely.

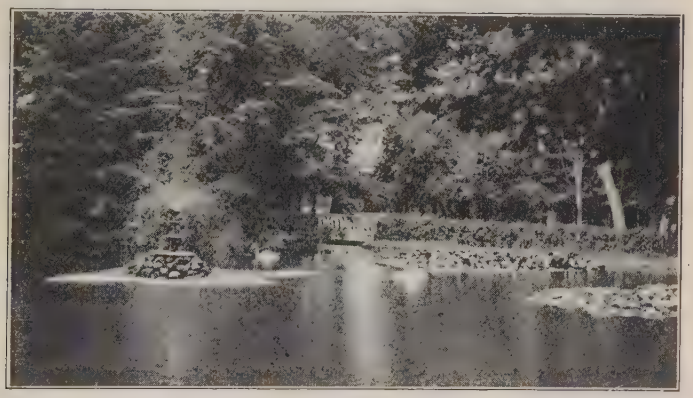
Let each member of the class write his favorite indoor and his favorite outdoor recreation, and then let the preferences be tabulated. Which of the recreations mentioned can a person secure by himself, and for which must he have the help of others? Why do some people never take a vacation? When does "recreation" cease to be recreation? Is it ever true that people need to rest up after a vacation? Should it be? What forms of amusement do you consider particularly likely to be overdone? Do older people need recreation as well as young people? the same kind? Do we need recreation more, or less, today than formerly? What kind of recreation is an office or store worker most likely to need? a mill worker? a farmer? a city man?

104. Public Provision for Recreation. — The city which tries to give these extra pleasures and benefits to its people is the one where the citizens are most likely to be happy, healthy, and orderly. And so, besides the parks, playgrounds, and libraries, many cities maintain museums and art galleries, furnish free band concerts and even open public dance halls, properly chaperoned, for people to broaden their minds or have a "good time."

Sometimes a wealthy man will by some munificent gift play

Santa Claus for the town where he was born or where he made his money. John D. Spreckels did this for San Diego in presenting the city with a wonderful organ for use in giving open air concerts. Andrew Carnegie put millions of dollars into a marvelous museum, music hall, and library for Pittsburgh.

Parks are the most common form of provision which communities make for public recreation. Here one may get into the open air and rest, and get as near to nature as is possible in a large city. Flower-beds, bushes, and trees help to make the place inviting in appearance and spread a quiet, uplifting in-



A Beautiful Park Scene in Victoria, British Columbia

fluence toward beauty and the higher things. The greenhouses and conservatories which many parks possess are educational as well as interesting, and the " zoo " is an endless source of enjoyment and instruction to old folks as well as young.

The question is sometimes raised: Should a city have one or two large parks or several small ones? By all odds the small ones, if it cannot have both. For the poor man with a good-sized family cannot afford to take them all on the street cars Sunday afternoon or any other time to get to a park, and he is the one who most needs it. But if the city can afford at least one fine large park, besides the smaller ones, it will be still better,

for it cannot be expected to furnish every little breathing space with all the beautiful and attractive equipment which can be readily supplied in the large park.

Should the main idea in a park be use or beauty? Should everybody be obliged to "keep off the grass"? Does your community

Courtesy Carnegie Steel Co.

A Playground and Community House

A place like this means a great deal to both the children and older people of this neighborhood. This one is maintained by the Steel Company.

have a public park? Describe any that you have visited in other places.

Probably nothing has done more to improve the life of the poorer districts of a community than the opening of public playgrounds. Here are swings, sandpiles, and other things which delight the children, and instructors who watch over their play and show them new games. If the playground is at all large, it will have one or more baseball diamonds for the boys and men, and basket ball courts and tennis courts which the girls and women also may use.

There should be a field house with baths, lockers, a gymnasium floor, and opportunity for indoor athletics of all kinds. In some cities there are swimming pools, indoor or outdoor or

both, or if the city is at the seaside or lakeside it may maintain public bathing beaches in connection with a playground. Sometimes classes are held which give instruction in subjects of special interest to women or children, such as sewing, basket-work, and the like.

Safe and Sane Recreation

The Bunker Hill Boys' Club of Boston is said to be the largest boys' club in the world. Here they can have good fun without harming themselves or anybody else.

To secure the best results from the playgrounds they must be closely and carefully supervised. If all the loafers and rowdies of a neighborhood collect around the playground and make it unpleasant for quiet and orderly people to go there, one may question whether the community is much better off for having the ground, even though the children are safe from the wagons and cars of the streets.

But with proper supervision the playgrounds will minister wonderfully to the health, happiness, and decent living of children and older people alike. If they are so situated as to

be within easy reach of those who most need them, and especially if they are operated, as in many places they now are, in connection with the public schools, they can help to develop in a very high degree the physical, intellectual, and moral interests of the community.

What advantages does your community offer for recreation for men, for women, and for children? Are country or city people better off in this respect? Is it wise to close certain streets against traffic and let them be used for play? What do you think of a community theater?

105. Private Amusement Enterprise. — We sometimes hear it said that the people of today are crazy over pleasure. When one sees the hundreds of thousands who visit Coney Island or Revere Beach or some of the other famous resorts where nothing is free except the sunlight, we wonder where they all get the money to pay for their pleasure. But it is sure that furnishing "recreation" has come to be an exceedingly profitable business.

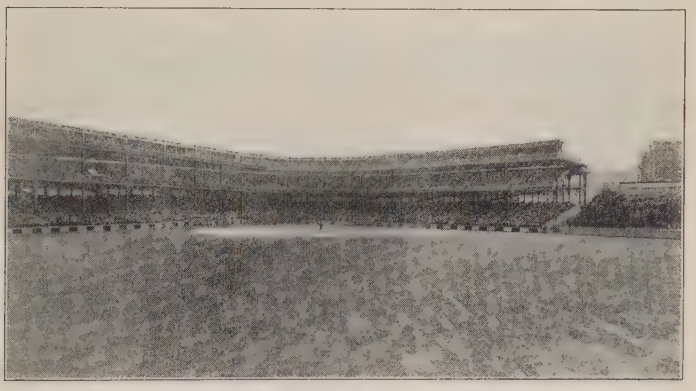
Back in the days of the Roman Empire it used to be said that if the masses had their "bread and circuses" they would be content. Today people turn out by the thousands to professional or amateur baseball games; and college athletic associations have to charge high admission fees to keep down the crowds at their football games to proportions that they can handle.

What a tremendous growth we have witnessed in the "movie" industry in a very short time! Not only do old and young, rich and poor, find it a way occasionally to spend the time, but many become so devoted to it that they are unhappy if they cannot go several times a week.

When we consider how many of the young folks of today make the movies their principal pleasure resort, we must be convinced that to keep this amusement clean and straight is one of the most necessary and valuable undertakings of today. It has been said that you can judge a person by the way he spends his spare time. It is surely true that you

can form some opinion of a person's taste by observing the kind of recreation he enjoys.

Really it is a serious question whether the people of today know how to spend their leisure time. Theatrical performances, whether on the screen or performed by actors in person, too often cause an unhealthy excitement in the minds of those who witness them. It is bad for us, too, if we get into the habit of thinking that somebody else must entertain us. It is one of the proofs of a really intelligent person that he can entertain himself for a considerable period without paying somebody



AMUSEMENT FOR THE PUBLIC

It costs money to witness games on Forbes Field, but thousands of people are willing to pay it.

else to do it. And the citizens of the community are not what they should be, unless they know how to make use of their leisure time, so that it will fit them better to do the real work that is theirs to perform.

Are the people who need recreation the ones who are most likely to get it? What about the home as a good place for recreation or amusement? Why does the child often seem to be better able to amuse himself than older people are? Should amusement proprietors feel any moral responsibility for the effect of the shows they provide? What effect on recreation has been produced by shortening the working hours of most people? Is play of any

value in education? Why is mowing the lawn work, but tennis play?

Our wants are many, for *goods* and *services*. Our *wealth* brings us necessities, comforts, honor, and the means of helping others. We must get it honestly, and use it for the things that will do society the most good. Poverty may result from physical, individual, or social causes. We must relieve it by coöperative effort when we can, and — far better — prevent it as far as possible. Every citizen should have his fair share of enjoyment, rest, and healthful change. Private enterprise will furnish amusement but it is usually expensive and not always healthful. The community must do its part by providing parks, playgrounds, museums, libraries, lectures, and concerts.

SPECIAL TOPICS

What I Would Do if I Had a Million Dollars.
The Things I Like Best to Do, and Why.
How to Spend a Vacation.
A Day in Early Plymouth.
A Happy Community.
A Visit to ——— Park.
The Maintenance and Operation of the Poorhouse. (Study your own if possible.)
Resolved, that the moving-picture theater does more harm than good.
Experience in Social Service Work.
Hiking.

READINGS

Lessons in Community and National Life, A–15, C–26.
Carver — Elementary Economics, Chapters 1, 2.
Marshall and Lyon — Our Economic Organization, Chapter 1.
Howe — A Modern City and Its Problems, Chapter 21.
Leavitt and Brown — Elementary Social Science, Chapter 1.
Burch — American Economic Life, Chapters 1–4, 6.
Thompson — Elementary Economics, Chapters 3, 4.
Beard — American City Government, Chapter 13.

CHAPTER XIV

COÖPERATION

"Ah, keep, keep them combined;
Else of the myriads who fill
That vast army, not one shall arrive."

—*Arnold.*

106. How Things Are Done. — The "helpful conditions in social life" about which we have been speaking can be brought about both by the right spirit within a citizen, and by the concerted action of a community. One other helpful condition underlies all the rest — coöperation. Surely you have already concluded that without it a community cannot successfully protect the health of its people, preserve their lives and property, promote intelligence, or provide for their convenience and the attractiveness of their surroundings. "Team-work" does it. Yet the spirit back of these things must be in the individual's mind or soul. Coöperation can take place only when individuals coöperate.

Writers on history have sometimes said that history is a record of the accomplishments of great men. It is surely true that almost every one of the great movements of nations has centered around the name of some leader. Yet, after all, what could the leader have done if he had no people to lead? George Washington alone could not have gained American independence nor could Abraham Lincoln alone have held the Union together. A pitcher or a short-stop without the help of the other players will not win a game. You must have team-work.

A great thinker or teacher, no matter how lofty and noble his ideals, will produce no effect whatever except as he gets those ideas across to other people. Then when others have

accepted and become inspired by the ideas of the great teacher, they too will go out and become missionaries of the new doctrine. There are all too many stories in history of great men who were almost totally unappreciated in their own time. Many a teacher in advance of his own day became a martyr to a great ideal, because the people of his day could

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A Home Missionary

This man has been working for nearly half a century among the sailors in New York harbor. He has distributed over a million Bibles in that time. The sailors seem to be glad to listen to him. He is spreading "propaganda" — a good kind — by personal work.

not think as nobly or as broadly as he did. How, then, can we obtain the coöperation we must have to do the things the world needs?

Does coöperation mean anything more than team-work? How many things can you do without receiving help, directly or indirectly, from some one else? Do people ever coöperate just for the pleasure of association with others?

Prove that coöperation is necessary to the success of each of the five great social institutions, and to the promotion of the other helpful conditions in social life.

Take some common article in everyday use and trace it back to its very beginning. Show how many people have been connected with its production.

107. Handicaps to Overcome. — First let us see why it is often so hard to accomplish a big undertaking or induce the world to accept a new idea, no matter how good it is. If you remember the story of the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, you will need no further proof that good things are not always easily accomplished. This document which we look upon with such respect today was violently opposed and probably would not have been accepted if it had been submitted to popular vote at the time it was drawn up.

We always have to deal with some ignorant people who do not rightly appreciate the purpose for which we are working. Others may not be ignorant, but have a habit of suspecting people's motives. They say, "Show me." These two groups have to be educated or shown the merits of the proposition we ask them to accept. Almost as numerous, perhaps, are those who think their selfish advantage is going to be affected in some way. Quite likely these people are in a way sincere. But they are nevertheless selfish if they look upon the welfare of themselves or their particular crowd as of greater importance than the welfare and progress of a community, state, or nation.

Is it good for a "tariff bloc" or "farm bloc" or "labor bloc" or "southern bloc" to vote together in Congress on most measures, considering each measure only from the viewpoint of their particular group?

Sometimes we see most unreasonable examples of this sort of clan loyalty, as we might call it. Whatever the idea is, if it is proposed by somebody of another party, it is all wrong. If it comes from a person of a different religious denomination, he must be seeking some underhanded advantage for his own particular group. We often cannot tell why we are Republicans or Democrats, why we belong to one church rather than another, but we think just as harshly of one who is on the other side as if some really vital difference on a matter

of great importance had caused us deliberately to take different paths.

Some other people always seem to be born contrary. Perhaps they do not want anything different from the way it has always been done. Perhaps if anything is done they want to do it themselves. Perhaps they object to some minor feature of a program and therefore have no use for the whole thing. Or perhaps they simply insist that "it can't be done." There is always likely to be some opposition of this kind to any new proposal. It takes a great deal of tact and judgment to deal with these varied sorts of people who are likely to stand in the way of a new idea. It usually does no good for one to lose his temper and call hard names, for that sort of thing usually makes one's opponents still more obstinate. One must avoid antagonizing people when there is no need of doing so, yet at the same time he must expect to make some enemies if he is really in earnest in his undertaking. Grover Cleveland's political friends once proclaimed, "We love him for the enemies he has made." Regardless of our opinion of Cleveland, there is a good deal in that statement. We can sometimes be proud to be opposed by certain interests and influences.

If you wished to secure a vacant lot near your school for a play ground, what sorts of opposition might you meet? What if you proposed to have a new school building erected?

When is opposition to a new idea praiseworthy?

Is coöperation any easier to get now than in primitive times? Was the American Indian totally independent? Does coöperation ever call for sacrifice?

108. Kinds of Coöperation. — We have not meant to imply that people never act together. They do — sometimes on a small scale, and sometimes on a large scale. But when they do act together or alike they often do so without reason.

Why, for instance, do some people change the cut or style of their clothes every few months? Simply because it is said that "they" are going to wear a new color or shape this fall.

Who "they" are is never clear. But if somehow the impression can be established that a certain thing is the fashion, millions of people will adopt it without regard to their looks or their comfort.

An old proverb instructed us: "When in Rome, do as the Romans do." "The Christian takes off his hat in church, the Mohammedan his shoes." There is no need for unnecessary disagreement with what the majority of people are thinking or doing, but it is a most ignorant sort of person and a

CHINESE "FLAPPERS"

Compare their costumes with ours. Would the outfits of our girls look as queer to them?

rather useless sort of citizen who never has a mind of his own about anything. The kind of coöperation that consists in simply following some one else, just as a lot of sheep rush in the same direction without any real reason for doing so, is not the sort we need.

Another kind of coöperation that is sometimes particularly dangerous is that which occurs when people get together in crowds. Of this we must speak a little more at length.

We must have coöperation. But we ought to have that kind which comes from deliberately deciding that a certain course is the right one and then willingly joining with others

in bringing about the success of the policy which we have accepted.

Make a list of ten occasions when you have observed coöperation. What caused it, in each case? When was it good and when bad?

DRAWING A CROWD

The evangelist seems to have no trouble to get people to listen to his message on a summer evening in a New York park. He has done this so often that he knows how to handle them. Perhaps his message has something to do with it, too.

Illustrate coöperation or the lack of it, from your own school life. Classify your examples of coöperation as "intelligent," "ignorant," "conscious," or "unconscious." If you fail to prepare your assignment for class or to do something else you were supposed to do, is any harm done, providing that everybody else did what he ought?

109. How a Crowd Acts. — Were you ever in the middle of a mass of struggling humanity trying to reach a bargain counter? Did you ever take a seat in the grand stand to watch a baseball game, and all at once find yourself on your feet yelling, without being able to recollect getting up? If you have had such experiences you will understand a little of the effect of crowds on individuals.

When a person becomes one of a crowd he seems to cease for the time being to be a person. He is simply one unit that has been forced with other units to make up a mass. He does not think for himself.

It is one of the easiest things in the world for a skillful person to swing a crowd the way he wants them to go, for the lightest suggestion, if made in the right way, will spread like wildfire through the whole mass. People who would never think of shooting down anybody if they met him alone, will go along with two or three hundred others in a lynching party and string up somebody who they are told has committed a crime. A crowd cannot be held together for any long time. But if the impulses which they receive while they are together are of the destructive kind, they can do a fearful amount of harm before the crowd breaks up and its members again begin to think like ordinary human beings.

Successful leaders can make use of their knowledge of the way crowds act to do both good things and bad things. To use our knowledge of " crowd psychology," either to direct the action of a crowd along right lines or to restrain it from doing something harmful, is a talent one can well cultivate. Successful preachers and teachers, as well as political leaders, use such a talent to very good advantage. It is too bad that so often the self-seeking demagogue or the trouble-maker is the one to make use of the unconscious tendency of human beings to do harm rather than good. Many a good cause has failed of success because its opponents were more skillful in attacking it than its friends were in presenting it.

If you have watched a skillful leader at a "revival meeting," how does he get results? What is "school spirit"?

110. The Value of Leaders. — Even if leaders are useless without followers, it is plain that without them very little that is worth while is ever accomplished. It would be an almost unheard of thing to find arising spontaneously in some community a general desire to accomplish some worthy

enterprise. Almost invariably the best of causes must be preached and taught and urged by individuals who have become enthusiastic about them, before these causes make headway among the masses of the people.

Leaders, too, add personality to an idea. True, a man with a highly developed moral sense will struggle against intemperance or slavery or social injustice just because it is wrong. But there are a great many people who find it much easier to become devoted to a hero and follow him. People who forgot the Ten Commandments could be mightily stirred up by Theodore Roosevelt and his preaching of the square deal. Democracy is an ideal that appeals in a vague way, but only so, to the masses of the people; but during the Great War millions of oppressed people in Europe saw democracy personified in President Wilson, and made it a world-wide slogan. The man gave life to what had been merely an abstract principle.

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A Leader Who Could Always Get a Hearing

Few men knew how to appeal to all sorts of people as well as did Roosevelt.

Besides, we must have leaders to work out the details of our programs and to direct us in doing the things that have to be done. If you and I are both members of some organization, we may both want to do a certain particular piece of work. Some one is needed to decide which of us shall do that thing and which of us shall do some other necessary thing.

Only a few people can be experts in any one line. We must take the advice of these experts as to the fine points of an enterprise which the ordinary person cannot hope to figure out for himself. We may decide, for example, whether we want to spend money for the construction of an attractive boulevard; but when it comes to working out the grades, and laying the foundations, and directing the workers, we must call upon those who know how to do that particular thing.

Leaders, then, we must have to assign us the place that we can best fill in accomplishing a task, to direct the details of its accomplishment with the special knowledge which they have, and to stir us up and inspire us to keep on until the enterprise is finished. Quite often it seems as if the talent of leadership is born in a person and that it cannot be taught. Even though that may be true to a considerable extent, every one of us can fit himself to do to the best of his ability the things that he is learning to do. It may be that the time will come when he may surprise himself by showing others how a big thing can be done, just because he has applied himself faithfully to the thing he has been doing day by day.

Are leaders necessary in an army, a government, an athletic team, a factory, a school, a home, a church? Show why or why not, in each case, and point out how any leaders that may be necessary should be selected. Is it best that leaders shall always be chosen by popular vote? Can a person be taught to be a leader just as he may be taught algebra? What qualities are necessary in a leader? What is the difference between a leader and a demagogue? Is there any way of telling them apart?

One way in which almost anybody may have to act as a leader is to preside over a meeting. If your class has not had any practice in conducting meetings, you ought to begin right now. Some of the principal rules to be observed in doing this are summarized in Appendix B.

111. Forming Public Opinion. — We often speak of "public opinion." Yet just what is it? It cannot be what *everybody* thinks, for the subject has not yet been discovered about which all people think exactly alike. Sometimes,

indeed, a small group will make a good deal of noise and deceive themselves or others into thinking that the disturbance they make corresponds to their real importance. Perhaps we should say that public opinion is the sentiment of the majority of the people as far as their views are expressed.

In American history we find plenty of instances where some great issue was forced upon the country by the determined persistence of a comparatively small group. Probably even the American Revolution was brought about by the persistency of such a minority, who kept at work until they had convinced the majority that Americans could not enjoy the rights they wished until they were independent. Certainly the overthrow of slavery was brought about only after years of struggle by a group who at first were looked upon as a few fanatics, but who finally expanded until they embraced the large majority of the people of the country.

A Disappearing Social Custom

It was for a long time the fashion in China to bind women's feet during babyhood so that they never grew large. Do American women have any customs equally senseless?

Back of every reform movement, every choice of a public official, every policy of law-making or law enforcement, is the mighty force of public opinion. How necessary then that public opinion should be intelligent! If I am a Republican or Democrat just because my father was, if I hear the views of no one except those whom my daily business brings in touch with me, if I read only one newspaper, and a partisan one at that, it is quite possible that my opinion will be narrow and prejudiced. We owe our fellow-men a better service than that,

and have a right to ask something better of them. How much less intelligent public opinion often is than it should be, because schools, churches, clubs, and newspapers give no chance to understand the honest views of people on both sides of an argument!

How far is your own opinion influenced by what you hear others say? by what you read? by custom or habit?

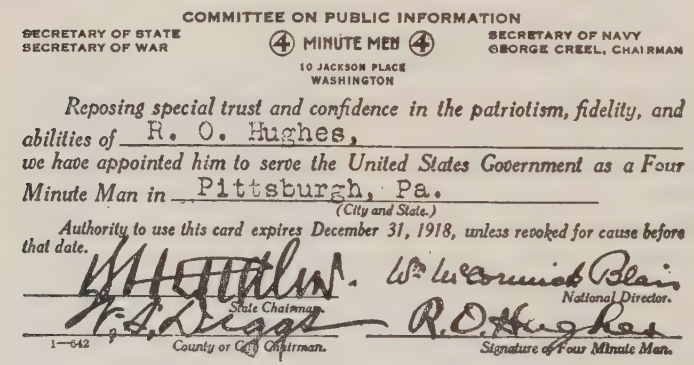
Now how is public opinion formed? Altogether too often it is not the result of deliberate reason and choice. Quite likely today the newspapers do more to influence public opinion than any other one factor, though sometimes men are elected to office who have little or no support from the leading newspapers of their neighborhood. Often public opinion represents rather an instinct or impression that somehow has taken possession of the active part of the people. Perhaps they themselves could not tell how or why.

To form public opinion as you would like it, you have various ways at your disposal. If the newspapers will back your proposition, good. You have a big start toward success. If you can get churches, clubs, and societies to pass resolutions favoring your idea, very likely some of the members of those organizations soon will be interested enough to advocate it. Then when one man talks to his neighbor and carries the new idea, you are getting your gospel spread in a very effective way. When it is very evident that the majority of the thinking people, or at least of the talking people, are in sympathy with your proposition, few politicians or civic leaders will dare to stand in the way of it.

The term *propaganda* is often used to mean statements and stories that are printed or otherwise circulated with the purpose of influencing public sentiment, but which do not directly indicate that purpose. For example, a candidate for office may allow his picture to be printed in the paper, with a story of his ideal home life. The reader is expected to conclude that he ought to vote for such a "nice man." Sometimes an advance article may set people to thinking about some matter,

and then a little later a very definite proposition may be made public concerning it. Propaganda may be used in behalf of a good cause as well as of a bad one.

Public opinion sometimes goes wrong. But we believe that, in the long run, if people think freely, public opinion will take the right stand on most questions. It is our business as good citizens to make certain that it has no chance to


COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC INFORMATION

SECRETARY OF STATE
SECRETARY OF WAR

④ MINUTE MEN ④

10 JACKSON PLACE
WASHINGTON

SECRETARY OF NAVY
GEORGE CREEL, CHAIRMAN

Reposing special trust and confidence in the patriotism, fidelity, and abilities of R. O. Hughes,
we have appointed him to serve the United States Government as a Four Minute Man in Pittsburgh, Pa.
(City and State.)

Authority to use this card expires December 31, 1918, unless revoked for cause before that date.

National Director.

State Chairman.

1—642

County or City Chairman.

Signature of Four Minute Man.

STIRRING UP PUBLIC OPINION

During the World War several thousand men all over the country volunteered to make four-minute speeches in connection with moving-picture shows, lectures, and all sorts of public meetings. With their help the public was kept aroused to the country's needs and urged to stand back of the government in prosecuting the war.

take the wrong stand and turn the hands of the clock of time backward instead of forward.

Sociologists use the phrase *social control*. By this they mean the way in which a group or a community restrains or guides the interests or activities of its members. It may be expressed sometimes by obeying custom, sometimes by forming strong public opinion, and sometimes through making formal regulations or laws. This social control, if intelligent, restrains evil and harmful influences and encourages good ideals and impulses. It tries to protect well-meaning citizens from those who are selfish or careless.

Social control in any respect is impossible until public sentiment or public opinion has been aroused on that matter. So if a community is to undertake anything to promote the welfare of its people, there must first be created by some means an intelligent understanding of the people's needs, and this must be followed by such persistent "keeping at it" that the will of the majority may be translated into law and action.

Give examples of social control exercised by each of the three methods mentioned.

"Vox populi, vox Dei," — "the voice of the people is the voice of God." Do you believe it?

Has a newspaper the moral right to put up its news articles in such a way as to influence public opinion through the way they are written? How many people read the editorial page of newspapers?

Why do political parties get up parades and use red fire and hire bands? In what other ways do they try to influence public opinion? What was done during the Great War to keep public opinion aroused? Why are "decent citizens" so often quiet when demagogues and trouble-makers create so much noise?

112. Examples of Community Coöperation. — Putting up a new school, opening a new park, constructing a new boulevard, are all examples of things that have to be done by the will of the community. Yet only a few people out of the whole number in the community actually have any part in accomplishing the undertaking. If somehow we can get all the people or a large part of them interested as individuals in a notable program or proposition, it will stir up more community spirit than opening the finest park in the land. It is for this reason, in part at least, that large cities have held great fairs and expositions, as Chicago celebrated the four-hundredth anniversary of the coming of Columbus, and San Francisco held its Panama-Pacific Exposition.

Small communities cannot attempt anything so elaborate or expensive. But sometimes an "old-home day" or an "old-home week" brings back the memory of boyhood days to those who live far away from the old time scenes, and stirs up a community and keeps it awake and doing long after the

particular occasion is past. Towns and cities sometimes undertake pageants which represent the history of their community. Historical plays may be given to represent events of the community's life, parades may be held in which floats indicate how some famous character lived or worked, and perhaps a record in book form may be preserved for decades to come to commemorate the history of the town's progress.

It should not be necessary, however, to make the stirring up of community spirit merely a matter of recalling "the good old days." There should be plenty of opportunity for the people of a town or city to get together and talk over the things in which they are all interested. The old New England town meeting was fine for this sort of thing. But when communities increase in number the town meeting becomes impracticable. People have to meet in smaller bodies instead of getting the voters all in one place. But several meeting places can serve local groups and the sentiment of these local groups can be made known through a community council.

Some live towns have their community houses, where activities of interest to all sorts of people of the community may be held. Certain sections of the community may have socials or other events that will draw together a large part of the people. It is unfortunate if a community allows all these things to be done through separate religious denominations or separate lodges or clubs which provide for the needs of their own members only.

The adoption of a community slogan sometimes puts "pep" into a community. If the phrase or word that becomes the motto of the town is distinctive and lively, people will begin to think that phrase into their own lives and act it out with reference to others.

Sometimes a community which has become stirred by a feeling that it is not all that it ought to be decides to undertake a *survey*. This is a thorough investigation into the conditions prevailing in the community — its government, its school opportunities, its provisions for public health, its streets and

highways, its facilities for recreation, its religious opportunities and advantages, its industries and their effect upon the people. Often a town will call in one or more experts from outside to take charge of the work so as to make sure that

Courtesy Carnegie Steel Co.

A Community Christmas Tree

The whole population of this neighborhood take an interest in observing Christmas.

nothing is kept quiet that should be made known. Far-reaching improvements have sometimes resulted from this sort of thing.

Perhaps your class can undertake on a small scale some such survey of your community. If you live in a large city, very likely it would be better to take a section of it rather than the whole city. Make a large map showing every place of interest, good or bad,

and indicate on it everything possible with reference to the condition of your community.

Is there anything that your community has commemorated or could commemorate by a pageant or historical celebration? Does it have "old home" days, pageants, a local baseball team, or any other activities that will make a large number of people take an interest in the same thing?

113. Coöperation among Nations. — It is too bad that nations seldom coöperate as they ought to. It is the biggest lesson that they have to learn now — to act together in the interests of all, instead of forming alliances to get the better of other alliances, or to seek, each nation for itself, great wealth or vast territory or some other outward form of grandeur.

Yet it would be wholly wrong to imply that nations do not act together at all. During the last few years we have seen twenty-five nations fighting side by side in a great war against the ambitions of the central powers of Europe to obtain a mastery of the whole world. Unfortunately that coöperation did not last long enough after fighting was over, and since then we have seen some of these allies going their own way and seeking selfish gains without caring for the effect of their policies upon civilization.

Yet practically all the civilized world has united in the Universal Postal Union, so that mail may be carried from one nation to another at as low cost and as speedily as possible. We have had congresses of various kinds such as those for suppressing the drug traffic and the slave trade, and in these a large number of the nations was represented. There are international bureaus for surveying coast lines and regulating international waterways. We have a Pan-American Union, in which the republics of the New World have joined to create a better understanding toward one another. We have had two great conferences at the Hague to promote peace. That they ever met means something, even though they seem to have failed utterly to bring about that world peace of which idealists have dreamed for centuries.

We have now a League of Nations, formed after the close

of the Great War, with a membership of over fifty nations. Only our own country, Germany, Russia, and Turkey, of the larger powers, are at present on the outside. An International Labor Bureau has been formed under the direction of this League, and the League has organized several new commissions to deal with matters of vital concern to the nations of the world. It has created a Court of International Justice which may always be available as a means of settling disagreements that arise among nations.

A great organization that has united, perhaps more than any other one, the peoples of the different nations is the Red Cross Society. It was founded by a fine Swiss gentleman, Henri Dunant, and was led for many years by that noble American woman, Clara Barton. Whenever suffering occurs in peace or war, the representatives of this society are on the spot and carry with them comfort and relief. Many of our great religious bodies also unite with those of other countries in similar ways.

Americans have been very generous as givers of charity to meet needs in any part of the world. Can we make our sympathy still more effective than merely by displaying it in outbursts of sentimental money-giving? The wisest coöperation tries to prevent unpleasant things from happening, rather than simply to make repairs after the damage is done. Probably all of the nations, including our own, have much yet to learn about coöperation that will keep all the world prosperous and happy.

Coöperation usually spells the difference between success and failure. It may be of the wrong kind, as fashions and crowds sometimes prove. But if of the right kind it will do wonders. It requires skillful leaders and loyal followers, and depends upon keeping alive a powerful public spirit. Social control guides public sentiment to promote the good of the many, rather than of the few. Communities and nations have coöperated for their own good and the good of humanity, but they can do better yet.

SPECIAL TOPICS

Obstacles in the Way of Making the United States Constitution.
Crowds That I Have Seen.
Great Leaders in American History.
How One Community Celebrated.
Getting More Coöperation in Our Community.
Notable Failures, and Why They Occurred.
The Red Cross Society.

READINGS

Marshall and Lyon — Our Economic Organization, Chapter 25.
Lessons in Community and National Life, A-16, C-17.
Gillette — Constructive Rural Sociology, Chapter 15.

PART II: EARNING A LIVING

We cannot completely separate the social relations of people from their associations in business or the activities of their government. Indeed no one wants to do so, for all three together play their part in our relationships today as human beings. Yet some of our activities concern one of these three interests more than they do the other two. Let us turn our attention now to those particular features of men's lives which concern the making of a living in the material sense. In so doing we shall get into the field that is usually called economics. Our economic life vitally affects, however, the quality and character of our social institutions, and, some people say, determines very largely the course of our politics and the conduct of our government.

WORK AND WORKERS

CHAPTER XV

WHY AND HOW MEN WORK

"Shame upon all listless dreamers early hiding from the strife,
Sated with some little gleaning of the harvest fields of life."
— Stedman.

114. Motives for Work. — Men always have worked — most of them — and probably always will. Why? There are several reasons.

(1) Necessity makes us work to *keep alive*, because it is only by work that most of us can obtain the things that we need to support us or can secure something else that we can exchange for those necessities.

(2) For a similar reason we work to *secure comforts and conveniences* beyond those necessary for mere living, for ourselves and for those with whom we are associated.

(3) Some people work because they wish the *prestige and influence* that the possession of wealth seems to bring, and they have no other means of acquiring this wealth. Sometimes this feeling may take the form of being ashamed not to work.

(4) Some of us work because we *enjoy it*. The artist, the actor, the inventor find real thrills and delight in what they undertake. In somewhat less degree even the worker in a factory who realizes that he has a part in a big enterprise may find pleasure in doing the thing that he does "for the joy of the working." Loafing is a hard job for a permanent occupation. A great many people will work at almost anything rather than do nothing all the time, even if they are so fixed financially that they do not need to work.

(5) Some wish to *help others* or *render service* to their fellowmen. As a famous missionary once said: "My profession is preaching the gospel. I cobble shoes to pay expenses." The social worker, the teacher, or the physician needs to do something in order to pay expenses, but the particular thing that he does may be determined by the good he hopes to do for the people with whom he works.

Of course very rarely will any one motive alone explain why people work. Much more often there will be a combination of two or more of them. The worker who can see something more in his vocation than merely his pay-check is going to find much more pleasure in his work and get better results morally, mentally, and physically.

Make a list of ten occupations in which your family or neighbors engage, and classify them in accordance with the motives that probably animate them. Why do many rich men work after they have made a fortune? Is a man lucky if he does not have to work? What is a parasite? Was John Smith right when he announced in the old Jamestown colony: "He that will not work shall not eat"?

115. Stages in Industrial Development. — Men once lived and worked far differently from the way they do things today. All our ancestors, no matter where they came from, at some time in the history of the world lived in a crude, primitive manner.

The very first stage through which man passed is known as the *hunting and fishing age.* During this time he was entirely dependent upon the gifts of nature. He used for food the herbs and fruits

GRINDING CORN MEAL

This Chinaman has advanced a little further mechanically than people who grind it by hand, but there is still a great deal of difference between his method and that of advanced countries.

which grew wild. From the hunt he supplied himself with food, shelter, and clothing, so far as he thought he needed them. In fact he lived little better than an animal.

The first great change took place when men began to tame and care for the once wild animals. Then the *pastoral age* began. Men raised flocks and herds and thus increased greatly their supply of food and clothing. Larger social groups were possible and something like a real family life could take place. But still the need of getting pasture for the flocks caused men to roam from place to place where feed and water could be found.

Next came the *age of agriculture.* Now men began to settle down in one place and to till the soil. Nobody can farm successfully and keep on moving about. Of course it took a long time for people to learn the scientific principles of agriculture. The first methods

of farming were very simple and exhausted the soil. Very much larger groups of people, however, could exist after agriculture had been definitely established. Even entire nations have been almost wholly agricultural.

The greatest change, however, came with the *age of manufacturing*. Some people now engaged definitely in making things for others to use. This age we may subdivide into two parts. First we have the *domestic* period, when most of the work was done either

WINDING SPINDLES IN PALESTINE

They have done the work this way for centuries.

in people's houses or in small shops connected with them. Simple tools were used and not many people were employed in any one place.

Then came the transformation which we call the *Industrial Revolution*. This tremendous change began in England soon after 1760 and from that country spread to the continent and to the United States. The direct cause of this change was a series of remarkable inventions which completely transformed the cotton and woolen

industries of the day. Arkwright, Hargreaves, Crompton, Cartwright, and others produced machines that could spin and weave cloth in a fraction of the time it had once taken to do this by hand. James Watt's steam engine, first used to pump water out of coal

THE COMPLICATED MACHINERY OF A COTTON MILL

Think what it would mean if all these threads had to be drawn in by hand.

mines, became an exceedingly important factor in the manufacturing of cloth.

An immediate result of this Industrial Revolution was the growth of the *factory system.* In place of the small shops enormous buildings were used. Instead of small tools which workers used by hand, great machines were constructed. Workers no longer owned their own tools as before — the new machines cost too much for that. The wealthy employers, who alone could conduct industry on the new basis, furnished both the materials and the machinery. We

shall notice later many ways in which the introduction of the factory system into manufacturing brought about far-reaching changes.

While this Industrial Revolution was taking place in England, the United States gained its independence. Agriculture and commerce, however, were still our most important industries and we were forced to depend on England for our manufacturing products. England tried to keep in her own possession the new inventions which were altering her own industries so completely. But this was not possible for long.

In 1790 Samuel Slater set up a cotton mill in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, and in 1793 Eli Whitney invented the cotton gin, which has perhaps changed the history of the world more than any other invention. Then the troubles with Great Britain, which resulted in the War of 1812, interrupted our foreign trade and caused many Americans to take up manufacturing. In 1814, when Francis C. Lowell opened his factory at Waltham, Massachusetts, we may say that the factory system really began in the New World.

Since we had so much less manufacturing here than England carried on, the introduction of new methods did not create the disturbance that it produced in England. Our Industrial Revolution was much less like a revolution and more like the gradual introduction of new methods. For a long time farming was so much more important than any other occupation that the changes in manufacturing did not mean so much to us as they did to England. It was really not until after the Civil War that manufacturing took on anything like the importance it has among us today.

We must not think that each industrial age was entirely distinct from the previous ones. At no time in any nation did one age suddenly come to an end and the next one begin. The earlier activities were continued side by side along with the new ones. Today we still fish and hunt, raise cattle, and farm, though we may do all of them much more skillfully than in primitive times. Nations, too, have come through these different stages at different rates. You can find in the less civilized parts of the world people who have not yet reached the age of manufacturing or gone very far into the age of agriculture.

Do you think a people's stage of development today is the result of their geographical surroundings or something else? Is there likely

to be any stage of development beyond that which we have now reached?

116. The Way Men Work. — Even in such simple occupations as hunting and fishing, men have often found it helpful to work with others. But the way in which they coöperate has changed decidedly. In early times every man had to be a jack-of-all-trades. Everybody did about the same kind of

WORK THAT MUST BE DONE BY HAND

It would be exceedingly difficult to put these drums together by machinery.

work. When they worked together it was simply a case of several people combining to do the very same thing. When you see half a dozen men lifting and carrying a steel rail, you have an illustration of the sort of coöperative work that once was the only kind known — *simple coöperation* — all undertaking to do the same thing in the same way.

As the numbers of people increased, men began to give more and more time and attention to those things that each one could do best. Some devoted all their time to building, some

continued to be farmers, some made clothing. Thus *simple division of labor* came about. But still the builder would perform all the processes necessary in putting up a house, and the shoemaker put together the entire shoe.

As time went on, however, the operations of a single trade were divided and *complex division of labor* came about. Now one worker did not attempt to put up an entire house himself.

PREPARING CLAY IN A GLASS FACTORY

No machinery has been invented which can take the place of tramping out the clay with the feet.

Today in putting up a house we make use of carpenters, plumbers, plasterers, painters, electricians, and several other kinds of workers.

This process has now advanced to the stage which we call *specialization.* The wood-worker may make only doors and windows instead of doing all the wood-work about a building. The village doctor who tried to remedy every ailment from which people could suffer may now specialize on the eyes or

throat. Some lawyers will accept only certain kinds of cases. In fact the process of specialization has been carried down to a very fine point.

This division of labor has brought many advantages. First of all, it has increased production. When the miller himself ceased to plant and harvest the wheat which he ground into flour, and began to devote his time entirely toward producing flour at his mill, leaving the farming to some one else, naturally he could grind more flour and do it better than before. So it is with the workers in a large factory. By performing only a few simple operations, they learn to do these perfectly. Their efficiency is greatly increased, and consequently production is more extensive.

Again, division of labor often shortens the time required for preparation. We have seen that the carpenter of former times had to be able to perform every task connected with building. Today, owing to the division of labor which has taken place, the employee in many a factory can quickly become skilled in the operation of some machine, and the employer no longer is forced to spend a great deal of time in training his workmen. Thus both are benefited.

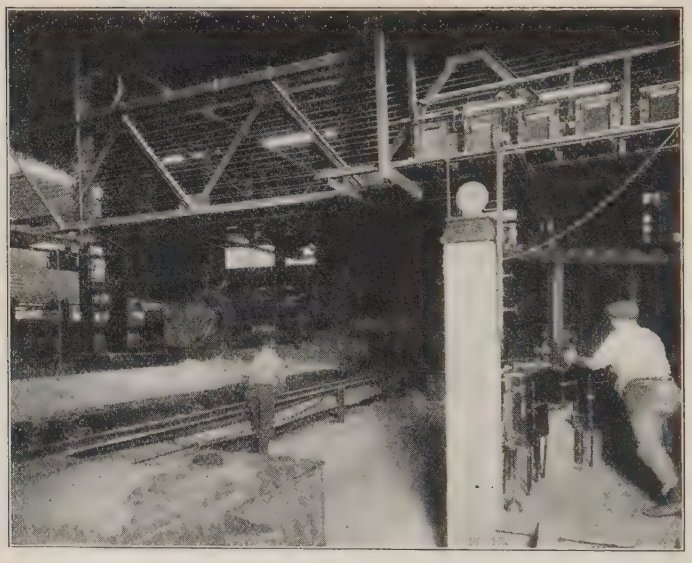
Socially, division of labor also has its advantages. Among men who work together all day at some particular task, there is a certain spirit of coöperation developed which could not exist otherwise. They cease to think only of themselves and begin to take a personal interest in their fellow workers.

Then, too, by organization the workers have gained such power that they can have something to say about the conditions under which they work. From this fact, in part, have come the shortening of the labor day and other changes that, from the worker's viewpoint at least, bring great benefits. The result is that the laborer has more time for recreation and self-improvement, and consequently may become a real help to his community.

But all the results of complex division of labor are not so beneficial. Continuously repeating the same simple task

tends to destroy one's power to undertake something new. The workmen's intellect is stunted and his ambition lost, since he can see no hope of securing a higher industrial position.

Besides, this division of labor is often the cause of class distinctions. It prevents the employer and employee from getting together, since each belongs to a class, which the other either cannot hope or does not want to enter. And it sometimes



ROLLING PLATE GLASS

The melted mass is poured from the great ladle and then rolled out flat. The heat is tremendous.

enables one small group which is dissatisfied to tie up a whole industry by refusing to work. Other workers have depended upon this group to do a particular piece of work, and if that group fails, the whole enterprise has to stop.

Why was it that at first man performed all his own tasks? How was simple division of labor a benefit? Has complex division of labor advanced too far? Do you like to do the same thing over and over again in school? Would you like a job that required you to do that?

117. What Men Do. — In any list of occupations put out by the Census Bureau several hundred occupations may be mentioned. Apparently, then, a person has a wide choice among the fields of activity in which he may engage. Yet it is not hard to group these under a few general heads.

Professor Carver gathers all the ways of obtaining a living under two big headings. Those in which a person makes a living and at the same time does some good to some one else he calls *economical*. Those in which the person's source of wealth does not contribute anything to society he calls *uneconomical*. Uneconomical occupations may either be distinctly harmful to the rest of the community, like counterfeiting and burglary, or may not for a time have any noticeable harmful effect, like living on your father's savings. We are not particularly interested in this sort of making a living, however, except to keep it down to the smallest possible proportion.

The economical activities are divided by Professor Carver into three groups. He gives the name of *primary* industries to such activities as make use directly of natural resources or the products of the soil, like hunting and fishing, cattle-raising, lumbering, mining, and agriculture. Those industries that cannot be carried on until some work has been done in the primary industries he calls *secondary* industries. Under this head come manufacturing, transportation, and store-keeping. A third group of workers may be called *professional* or *personal*. These people do much to make the life of workers in other activities more intelligent, comfortable, or enjoyable, but they do not actually produce material things. Such are the doctors, the teachers, the ministers, public officers, actors, and the like.

The United States Census Bureau chooses to group those who are engaged in "gainful occupations" under nine headings. The following table names these and states the percentage of all workers who were engaged in each group in 1920:

Agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry . . .	23.6
Extraction of minerals	2.6
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	30.8

Transportation	7.4
Trades	10.2
Public service	1.9
Professional service	5.2
Domestic and personal service	8.2
Clerical occupations	7.5

Considerably more women than men are engaged in professional service, domestic and personal service, and in clerical occupations. Hardly any women worth counting are engaged in mining, and men outnumber the women at least two to one in agriculture and transportation.

Under which of the groups suggested either by Professor Carver or the Census Bureau would you put the following occupations: postal clerk, school teacher, barber, stenographer, sales clerk in a department store, carpenter, chicken-raiser, engineer? Why are some occupations monopolized by men? In clerical occupations, in professional service, and transportation, the percentage of women engaged in 1920 was noticeably greater than in 1910, while the percentage of women engaged in agriculture was considerably less. Can you explain this difference? Many more workers, in proportion, of both men and women are now found in clerical occupations and in manufacturing than formerly, while the percentage of agricultural workers has decreased. Can you offer any explanation for this change?

What occupations are represented by the members of the families to which you belong? What are the most common occupations in your community?

Many motives urge us to work, beyond the necessity of making a mere living. The character of labor has changed wonderfully since primitive days. Men first lived mainly by hunting and fishing; then herding was added; then farming; and finally manufacturing. Since the Industrial Revolution which began in England in the latter part of the 18th century, machine industry has made tremendous strides. It has greatly extended the division of labor, so that now occupations are counted by the hundreds.

SPECIAL TOPICS

Life in the Days of the Cave Man.
The Life of the American Indian.

James Watt and His Contemporaries.
Eli Whitney and the Importance of His Work.
The Early History of Virginia.

READINGS

Lessons in Community and National Life, A–8, B–2, B–3, B–9, C–2, C–9, C–10.
Burch — American Economic Life, Chapters 1–4, 25.
Carlton — Elementary Economics, Chapters 1–4.
Adams — Description of Industry, Chapters 1, 2, 4, 6.
Marshall and Lyon — Our Economic Organization, Chapter 8.
Carver — Elementary Economics, Chapters 15–20.
Beard — American Citizenship, Chapter 2.
Thompson — Elementary Economics, Chapter 8.
Osgood — History of Industry, Chapters 1–10, 12, 13, 15–17.
Gillette — Constructive Rural Sociology, Chapter 8.

CHAPTER XVI

FINDING OUR OWN PLACE

"If you can fill the unrelenting minute
With sixty seconds' worth of distance run,
Yours is the earth and everything that's in it;
And, what is more, you'll be a man, my son."

— *Kipling.*

118. Who Ought to Work. — "The average man must earn his own livelihood. He should be trained to do so, and he should be trained to feel that he is occupying a contemptible position if he fails to do so." No better text than these words of Theodore Roosevelt could be found for the discussion upon which we are entering. It has been said truly that school is life itself, not merely a preparation for life. Yet the school's part in life is to make us ready to do something else.

So strong has this feeling become among us that the federal government assists from its own treasury those states which are willing to give an equal amount for the purpose of maintaining vocational schools. The law which began this practice was passed in 1917 and is commonly known as the Smith-Hughes Bill. It is specified that this money should be used to promote "vocational education in agriculture and in the trades, industries, and domestic arts."

Upon those who can work well at something a great responsibility rests. In every ten people, taking them as a mass, four are too young, too old, or too feeble, to take an active part in the world's work. Two more are engaged in home duties, thoroughly necessary, it is true, but not of the kind to bring in ready cash. One man is usually out of a job temporarily.

That leaves three of the entire ten who must not only support themselves but earn enough in addition to keep the other seven from starving to death. Insurance men have reckoned that if you take 100 average people 25 years old and watch their careers you will find that 30 years later 20 will be dead. Of the remaining 80 who are alive at 55 years of age, only 4 will be earning more than a mere living, and 30 will be wholly or partly dependent upon some one else for support.

Surely it would seem then that we should ask not who ought to work, but who has any right not to work. Even a well-to-do

Courtesy Ford Motor Co.

SOME OF MR. FORD'S EMPLOYEES

Can you guess how many thousand dollars' worth of time it cost to have this picture taken?

person who does not need to earn money has plenty of opportunity to perform the many kinds of social work in which the possibility of pay is small or zero. The well-to-do, therefore, have no sufficient excuse for not working at something.

We should probably make one exception. Nobody, whether child or adult, should work beyond his strength and capacity. If he does, it will not be long before the community will have to support him, because he will be unable to do the work of a healthy individual. Particularly does this apply to children. As we shall see later, a child worker who overdoes when he is still unformed, physically and mentally, will never be worth anywhere nearly so much in any way as if he had not begun work too soon.

We must not make the mistake of rushing out into the industrial world when we are poorly equipped for doing good work.

Just as the business man sometimes finds it economy to spend large sums to get bigger returns later, so the boy or girl who gets all the school has to give will get far better rewards after he does start than the one who quits before he has finished his course. There are a few people who have risen high with very little schooling. But they are the rare exceptions, and no one can tell how much better even they would have done with a more thorough foundation.

Are you doing anything now to help out the family income? If not, would it be better if you were? It will be interesting to find what the entire class has earned during the year — actually earned.

Is it ever right for a well-to-do person to keep a paying position which some one else would like to have?

119. Deciding on a Vocation. — The wide range of choice today in selecting one's vocation is both an opportunity and a menace. It enables one today, more than ever before, to choose the vocation for which he is best fitted. The danger is that he may see so many things as to make it hard for him to settle down on any. But one must make a choice some time or else have it made for him by circumstances after it is too late for him to make his own selection.

It is not safe for most of us to choose a vocation once for all before we get through school. Many a boy has felt that he would like nothing better than to drive a dumpcart or to call off the trains as the fellow with a calliope voice used to do it in a big railway station. Even in the high school many a pupil finds that his entire ambition for life changes during the progress of his course.

Yet men and women who have thought deeply on this problem of " vocational guidance " are convinced that even though a pupil may change his mind, he will lose nothing by having had his course aimed at some fairly definite goal. It may at least save him from drifting along in a haphazard way and getting through at last without having learned to do any particular thing well.

In judging any occupation you must look at it from two dis-

tinct viewpoints: what has it to offer in qualities that interest you? and what qualifications have you to meet the necessities of the occupation?

You have the right, for example, to ask such questions as these: Is the occupation an honorable one and do those who engage in it have the respect of the community? Is health or life endangered by any part of the work which I shall be called on to do? What money compensation does it offer?

An Art Class at Work

One needs special natural talent to undertake successfully this kind of activity.

What chance for advancement does it hold, if I make good in it? Can I continue to find enjoyment in it after the freshness of early enthusiasm has worn away?

The saloon business could hardly say "yes" to the first of the questions. A powder mill could not meet with the second requirement. A mail carrier can never hope to speak enthusiastically about the third. The messenger boy and similar "blind alley" occupations can offer nothing for the fourth.

A reporter's berth on a newspaper or the endless demands on a physician's time may force one to say " no " to the last. Yet each of these can offer some inducements that others cannot.

On the other hand, we can imagine the vocation asking these questions of you as you consider entering its portals: Are you physically strong? Do you have endurance, even

The Office Force

though you lack muscle power, or are you deficient in both? Do you think quickly or slowly? Are you accurate and orderly, careful of details, or are you lacking in these qualities, thinking on broad lines or through general impressions? Do you prefer work indoors or out? Are you original in your thinking and have you the power to lead others, or do you prefer to have some one tell you what to do? Do you always want to " play it safe " or are you willing to take a chance? Are you looking for a big salary, or will you accept the love and appreciation of others as a partial equivalent? Are you hard to get acquainted with and lacking in emotion, or do you make

friends easily and speak freely with others? Are you looking for a "soft thing" or are you willing to work hard?

The vocation has as much right to expect you to answer these questions honestly as you have to inquire what it has for you. The thing which you must do is to take careful account of your own personal capital and see what you can put into any work. Then you can approach the vocations which have made some appeal to you and try to determine which one, *for you*, has most to offer.

Make a list of 25 common occupations and fill out a table that will show the extent to which each one presents or demands the following qualities: Social Position, Healthfulness, Salary, Advancement, Security, Interest, Ease, Physical Strength, Accuracy, Originality, Adaptability, Preparation. Classify your own qualities with reference to each of the last seven points. Then compare your personal classification with the list of occupations and see how many of them you think you are fitted for or would care to engage in. In grading the different points you can use the words "High," "Moderate," and "Low," or grade them in percentages if you wish.

120. Training for a Trade. — Perhaps we ought to define what we mean by "trade" as distinct from "profession." For one thing, a trade usually involves manual labor. It may be skilled or unskilled, depending upon whether one can pick it up with little or no difficulty or whether a considerable period of preparation and experience is called for. In a trade workers are usually paid by the day or the hour. A profession, on the other hand, emphasizes to a much greater extent mental work. Compensation is usually in the form of "salary" rather than "wages," if by salary we mean payments every week or every month or for some longer period. Usually a rather protracted preparation is required. The "learned" professions, such as the law, teaching, the ministry, medicine, and the like, may call for not only a high school course but four years in a college or university and even more besides.

How may a worker obtain the preparation for a trade which he has decided to enter? Years ago about the only way was to associate himself with some worker already considered skilled in that particular occupation. He could do first the little things that anybody can do and that always have to be done, while the skilled worker was performing the more difficult steps of the process. Gradually the new worker might get the chance to undertake some of the work calling for special knack or skill and so advance until finally he might be allowed to attempt on his own account anything that the trade is called upon to do. While getting his experience he would be known as an apprentice, especially if he had made a formal agreement that the older worker was to teach him the trade. Apprenticeship still is one of the most common ways of learning a trade.

But now we have in many places our special trade schools. Sometimes in the large cities there are trade or industrial schools operated entirely apart from the regular schools. Here those who feel certain that they want to enter a particular trade can take a course in which they will spend practically all their time getting ready for their chosen vocation. Under such circumstances very little time can be devoted to the so-called cultural studies. Some of our universities offer special industrial courses intended to prepare workers for a specific trade.

In many industries the labor unions (§ 185) have undertaken to regulate admission to particular trades. In some communities they have pretty nearly entire control of this matter. One can understand why a union which seeks to supply all the labor of its particular kind in a community should want to have as high a standard as possible maintained by the workers in that trade. For this reason they might very properly insist upon a rather long apprenticeship before a person would be definitely recognized as a skilled worker in their line. They have sometimes been accused, however, of deliberately making it difficult for a person to get into a trade so that they

might reduce the number of available workers and thereby make it easier to obtain very high wages for their members. Labor unions and trade schools have not always been on the best of terms.

But does the workman, skilled or unskilled, need any education except that which will train him directly for his vocation? He surely does if he is to be anything more than a machine. As a citizen and a voter he needs to know something about the great problems of the day and the history of

PREPARING FOR THEIR PROFESSION

These students at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology are getting practical work in surveying.

his country and of the world. For his own welfare he should be able to use the English language successfully and get acquainted with the opportunities for culture and advancement which can come to him only through higher institutions of learning. It seems a mistake, therefore, for a worker to be content with anything less than a general high school education, unless he is absolutely forced to do so by money difficulties. He *may* get along without it and may be able to do some things reasonably well, but the chances are far and away in

favor of the worker who has the high school education in comparison with the one who does not have it.

In some communities special arrangements have been made between the schools and the chief industries. Sometimes pupils in the schools are employed at regular wages during part of the school year. They may alternate between the shop or the factory and the school every two weeks or for some other definite period. In this way they may get both the practical experience and the theory of their occupations, as well as some cultural development at the same time. If a person must earn something early in life, arrangements like this are exceedingly helpful. One should hesitate, however, to be drawn into them if his circumstances will permit him to have a broader education.

Is there any occupation which you would care to go into where you would regret having had a high school or college education? Take your previous list of 25 common occupations and classify them with regard to the value of high school or college training in preparation for them. Is its immediate use in making money the only thing worth considering in judging a subject or a course of study?

121. Training for a Profession. — As we have suggested, it takes a longer time and more intensive study to get into the higher professions than into the skilled trades. Once it was common for a boy to study law in a lawyer's office, meanwhile keeping the lamps trimmed and the floor clean by way of compensation for the trouble he was causing to the lawyer. Now states insist upon examinations before they will admit a person " to the bar," as the phrase is. A college or university course with three years in a law school on top of it is almost necessary, if a person expects to advance to the top in the legal profession. Sometimes it takes several years more after one " hangs out his shingle " before he can make a really good living.

Once a doctor could go into certain medical " colleges " without even a high school education and get his diploma in three or four years and then inflict himself on some community

as a practitioner. Today high-grade physicians are supposed to have at least six years, education beyond the high school, with one or two years hospital practice besides. Engineers — civil, mechanical, electrical, and the rest — need a special university course as well as actual experience in the practical side of the profession. High school teachers now must expect to present as one of their qualifications at least a four-year college or university course. Teachers below the high school are being asked by more and more communities each year to have not less than two years' training beyond the high school.

There was a time when the minister was the most learned man in the community — perhaps the only one who had a college education. Then there came a period when men undertook to preach who had almost no education. The salaries of ministers did not rise as rapidly as in many other occupations. Their profession and the churches that they served could not help suffering when such conditions prevailed. Now we are coming back to the old-time standard for the minister and asking that the pastor of the church shall be one whose mental qualifications we can respect.

The social standing of the professions in the community is commonly considered higher in proportion to the income which they furnish than that of the trades. Perhaps we have been too ready to assume that the man who worked with his hands and wore clothes that seemed out of place in the parlor was not the equal of the leisurely living and faultlessly dressed person who exercised only his wits. There must be a place for both brain-workers and brawn-workers in any community. Some of our professions have been overcrowded because too many people wanted to earn a living without working. But no one can hope to get to the top in any line of activity unless he is willing to work hard and faithfully, whether with his hands or with his mind.

Would you advise a young lawyer or doctor to associate himself if possible with some well-known person when starting to practice his profession? Is the best place for an inexperienced teacher in

a rural school or a city school? with a class of young pupils or older ones?

122. Finding a Job. — Suppose, now, that you consider yourself ready to take up some definite position and that you have obtained all the education you need before starting out really to earn your own living. Positions or jobs, whichever you prefer to call them, do not come any too readily to those who sit down and wait for them. Usually you have to go after them. Now how may you know where to find the opportunity that you are looking for?

Many schools and colleges maintain placement bureaus for their graduates. Employers may get into the habit of asking some particular institution to suggest some one when they have a place open. The pupil who has made a good record may then be recommended by the school to the employer who is looking for some one. In some ways this is very satisfactory, for the school should know perhaps even better than one's parents the kind of thing for which a pupil is best fitted and can without any embarrassment to either the employer or the pupil propose a person's name only in connection with positions which he could probably fill satisfactorily. City and state governments, and private individuals, often maintain employment bureaus.

The most familiar agency for telling your wants and finding out those of others is the " want ad " column of the newspaper. Too many of the places mentioned in newspaper " ads " are temporary jobs rather than permanent or high-class positions. Yet employers wanting men of high ability sometimes make use of this means of getting them, particularly if they want to test a man's general ability without his knowing the specific line of work for which he is desired. Even cities have advertised for city managers through the newspapers.

" Beggars can't be choosers," it has been said. A person in need of a job may not feel like being very particular about who his employer is. Yet one has a right to desire to work for an employer who will appreciate and recognize faithful and effi-

cient service. A man who is known to drive his workers to the utmost without a word of appreciation and to keep them at bottom wages as long as he can, is the sort of employer that even a new worker would do well to keep away from if possible.

Moreover a new worker, as well as an old one, should want to go into an honest business. It is well to be wary of positions offering big pay for beginners. Big positions offering high pay seldom need to be glaringly advertised. You have no doubt seen advertisements saying, "Salesmen can earn hundreds of dollars a month. No experience required." Perhaps some can do this, but it is very unlikely that a business in which its salesmen can do so well can be a reputable business, else it would not need to urge people to come into its employment. To stick to the work for which you have natural ability and to disregard such temptations as these will in the long run be the proper course for most of us.

From what sources is advice regarding the choice of a vocation likely to be most helpful to you? What advantages or disadvantages are connected with holding a position under some friend or relative? Should a person take the first decent place that is offered to him, or wait until he gets just the kind of place that he wants? Has a person really made a "choice" of a vocation when he continues to work at something which he does not particularly enjoy?

123. Keeping up with the Job. — Let us suppose that you have accepted a position, for most of us prefer to put it that way rather than saying that we have landed a job. Has our responsibility for our progress ended? Not by any means. It has just begun. One has no right to expect to keep a position unless he shows that he is worthy of it. Because he needs the money, because he is a relative of somebody already in the establishment, or because he is a "good fellow" personally, are not good reasons at all why one should stay indefinitely in any position.

It is queer how some people ignore the very first essentials of business in their own conduct toward their work. To keep

in as good physical trim as possible, to be courteous to those with whom you have to do, whether fellow-workers or customers, to be on time and to work faithfully during the time that you are supposed to work, to be loyal to the business as long as you are connected with it — these would seem to be principles that nobody could question. Yet how many there are who fail to measure up to anywhere nearly a perfect standard in one or more of these essentials!

Elbert Hubbard said: "I think if I worked for a man, I would work for him." If you find yourself in a position where your conscience or your self-respect will not permit you to be satisfied, then give up the position, regardless of consequences. As long as you hold the place you have no right by complaining to others to injure the success of the enterprise which is giving you your employment. Besides, in some cases it is of special importance that you should keep to yourself whatever information you obtain with reference to the policies or methods of your business organization. This does not mean that you should deliberately keep on doing anything that is crooked or dishonest. But there are many things that your employer has a right to consider his own business and nobody else's.

The ambitious worker is not satisfied, either, with what he knows when he starts to work. If he is the right sort he realizes that there are many things he does not know. He tries always to qualify himself for better service. If there are trade journals or professional magazines published that deal with his occupation, he subscribes to them and reads them. If he has not had as much general or special education as schools can afford him, he will attend a public night school or night classes at college if his community offers them. If he does not have this advantage, he may take correspondence courses. The worker who shows his enthusiasm and interest by sometimes doing a little more on the job than is actually required, and by manifesting a real interest in the success of the business, is the one who will be noticed by the employer and the one who will obtain promotion when there is a chance to get it.

It is a little embarrassing sometimes to know just how to act with reference to this matter of promotion. Some employers prefer to make the promotion themselves. Others argue that a worker who feels that he deserves promotion or a larger salary ought to have nerve enough to ask for it. About all the general advice that can be offered on this point is: Adapt yourself to what seem to be the customs and wishes of those who make selections for better positions or decide upon increases in salary.

Is "the boss" the only sufferer if you do not work faithfully or honestly?

124. The Girl and Her Life Work. — Since nearly half the people in the world are women, and in a few of our states more than half, it is a piece of folly not to give serious thought to the training of our girls. The fact that a considerable majority of the pupils in American high schools today are girls, makes it hard for us to realize that three-quarters of a century ago a girl was not expected to have more than a grammar school education, and was not permitted to obtain a degree from any important college.

But the question now rises, in opening the doors of our schools freely to girls have we merely given them a chance to learn books and to acquire a distaste for the things in life which were once the center of a woman's interests? Every year sees women going into the field of business more extensively. The Great War has brought them into places always before filled by men, from many of which they are not likely to withdraw.

Yet the hard, cold facts of the Census Bureau show us that only one woman in sixteen dies without marrying, and that nearly half of them marry before they are 25. Are they being trained as they should be for the important services which men cannot do?

The answer to this question is not so easy as it looks. Andrew Carnegie's advice to "put all your eggs in one basket and watch that basket" is not wholly feasible here; for while

they are waiting for that basket which most of them expect to watch, they must needs have some means of employing their time. Fortunately many after leaving school find enough duties in their own home to keep them reasonably occupied. But many must find their work outside, and for that they need training. Others, even when they are married,

Boston Photo News Co.

PRACTICAL TRAINING FOR GIRLS

Cooking is not a substitute for history and literature, but every girl ought to have the cooking as well as the other subjects.

must help somewhat in the support of the family; and some go into outside work from choice.

The upshot of the whole matter is this: Training in homemaking — in cooking, sewing, and all the details of home management — will never be out of place for any woman. It ought to form a part of every girl's course in school at some time. She ought to have equal preparation with the boy in great subjects of social value such as this which we are now studying. She should have equal opportunity to pursue courses of advanced learning. If she wishes, she

should have special vocational training outside the lines of home-making.

Our commercial classes in the public schools are composed, as a rule, largely of girls. As stenographers and office-workers there is more room for them than for boys, because their wage standard is lower. Sometimes such positions develop into well-paid secretaryships. One line of occupation which is

Interior of a Telephone Exchange

Girls are considered to be specially qualified for this sort of work.

wholly reserved for girls is that of telephone operator. Even for this the telephone companies wish to have high school graduates, for a certain mental alertness which not every one possesses is an essential in the work.

The range of advancement in girls' vocations, then, is limited by the fact that most of them sooner or later go into the one greatest vocation for women. A few occupations are barred to women because of physical reasons. But most of the rest are open to a woman who has determination and

courage. The girl should study her personal qualifications just as accurately as the boy, and make her choice with just as much seriousness. She cannot tell, any more than the boy, into what emergencies she may at some time be cast.

Take the list of occupations which we have already studied. Add, if necessary, eight or ten which women particularly enter, and judge them with reference to their suitability for women. If you are a girl, make personal application also.

Every one has the social duty of working, either for his own living, or for social service, or both. Thoughtful preparation is needed for success in any occupation, whether the worker be a boy or a girl. Advancement depends chiefly upon earnestness and efforts to improve after one has a position. Training for home-making should at some time form a part of every girl's education, no matter what else she prepares to do.

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Ideal Stenographer.
Dangerous Jobs.
School Vocational Bureaus.
How I Would Undertake to Get a Position.
Blind-Alley Jobs.
Earning While in School.

READINGS

Lessons in Community and National Life, B-8, C-8.
Giles — Vocational Civics.
Gowin and Wheatly — Occupations.
McKeever — Industrial Training of the Girl.
Weaver — Profitable Vocations for Girls.
Weaver and Byler — Profitable Vocations for Boys.

SPECIAL STUDY

Preparing for a Vocation

Opportunities for trades and professions in our community

Number engaged in each at present.
Wages paid in each.
Are any overcrowded?

Which are in particular demand?
Chances for advancement.
Is there any reason why I could not plan for a life work here?

Qualifications necessary for different occupations:

Education, general and special.
Practical experience.
Personal qualities needed for success in each.

What I am doing to prepare myself:

Training given by our school.
Chances for further preparation.
Qualities that fit or unfit me for particular occupations.
Deficiencies I should overcome.
How I hope to get a position.
Means of improvement I shall employ after securing work.

If no other opportunity is afforded during the school course for a study of occupations, a few weeks could very profitably be spent at this point in making such a study. This will be even more profitable if it is based mainly on the observations and investigations of the pupils themselves rather than merely on a textbook. The suggestions given above and in previous sections can be developed extensively, if it seems desirable.

If representatives of the leading trades or professions in the community can come and speak to the class, they can give good first-hand advice, providing that the teacher and the class see to it, by pertinent questions, that every angle of the occupation is opened up. Sometimes such speakers are so enthusiastic that they fail to present the unpleasant things in the occupation or to emphasize the need of suitable preparation.

CHAPTER XVII

GETTING AHEAD

"'Tis not in mortals to command success,
But we'll do more, Sempronius; we'll deserve it."
— Addison.

125. What Constitutes Success? — Americans have been accused of being money-mad. It is said that they judge everything and every person from the financial side and that they form their opinion about a person's success by the amount of property he owns or the size of check he can draw. Americans are not alone, of course, in overemphasizing the importance of wealth. But it is not out of place for us right here to call attention to the fact that merely piling up money does not mean success.

Money will buy a great many things. It will enable a person to get comforts and luxuries that he could not otherwise obtain. And yet money cannot buy character, it cannot buy brains, it can buy only a superficial sort of happiness. The person who saves up a million dollars and has obtained it by underhanded or tricky business methods is not successful in any proper sense of the word. Emerson well said that it is not what a man makes but what he leaves that counts.

Ruskin calls " success " a " masked " word, because it may be used to mean any of several things. Some would say that a successful man is one who has realized his ambitions, but that depends upon what his ambitions are. Many other elements enter into true success. Do you enjoy a good reputation among your fellow-men? Do they respect you? Do you find pleasure in the higher and better interests of

society and not merely in loud display or low amusements or merely material enjoyment? If you can truthfully answer "Yes" to these questions you are well along the road to success.

We may even properly call some people successful financially who never pile up large fortunes. If one has been able to earn enough to keep himself in reasonable comfort, to provide properly for his children and any others dependent upon

THE RESIDENCE OF A WEALTHY LOS ANGELES MAN

He evidently had plenty of money. Do you suppose it made him happy?

him, to fit them for doing the work in the world of self-respecting men or women, surely he has been at least reasonably successful, financially as well as otherwise. If he has done his best, he has in the noblest sense succeeded. As Thomas Bailey Aldrich expressed it: "They fail, and they alone, who have not striven." Spiritual victory — the living up to high ideals — is real success.

When may we rightly call a poor man successful or a rich man a failure? May a person who has wholly failed to attain his first ambitions ever be properly considered successful?

126. Increasing One's Income. — Since we cannot so readily measure the other elements that enter into true success, we are obliged to limit most of our discussion of it to the financial side. By what methods, then, can one hope to increase his income? To answer that question we may first try to discover the factors that aid in determining one's income.

We may group these factors under four heads: chance, opportunity, ability, and the power to demand. A few people's financial advancement is due to what we commonly call "luck" — events entirely outside of their control. The farmer who discovers that there is oil in his land, and the person who inherits $50,000 from a rich uncle, are people who do exist, though not in great numbers, and who do not owe their advancement to any influence that they themselves may have exerted.

Sometimes, too, it seems as if some people always had good opportunities thrown at them. Very likely there are other people than those who obtain high positions in the business or professional world who might have done equally well if they had had the chance. In baseball we sometimes speak about "the breaks of the game," when it seems as if it was a mere matter of luck that caused victory to come to one team rather than to another. But it is also true, if one team constantly gets the breaks week after week, that the team does something to cause these breaks in its favor to occur. "They make their own breaks," as the saying is. So it is very likely that a worker who thinks he never has had a chance for advancement has done little or nothing himself to bring opportunity his way.

It goes without saying that a person's ability and efficiency affect the prospects of increasing his income.

Another important factor in determining income which has come more and more into public notice in recent years is the power to demand. If you are rendering essential services and are in a position to withdraw these services when you do

not get what is your due, you may be able to force attention from an otherwise careless or stingy employer.

That is what the modern trade union often tries to do. It seeks to get all the workers of a certain trade into the union, so that there will be no competition from the outside. Then it can threaten the employer, if necessary, with the tying up of his business if he will not treat reasonably the members of the union. This power to demand may be and sometimes is exercised unfairly and unreasonably, but it is one of the facts in the industrial world today. The absence of this bargaining power is one reason why workers sometimes fail to get what they have a right to ask.

To increase one's income, then, at least three methods are possible:

(1) To increase our efficiency is the old-fashioned way and after all the surest. It is only fair that the man of superior skill and intelligence should receive a larger income than an inefficient worker, whether he is employed in a mill or an office or in a professional capacity. When workers are laid off in hard times the poorest workers must expect to be laid off first.

(2) To lay by some savings from our regular income and invest them so that they will bring in additional returns is another way to increase one's income. We shall speak a little later about this matter of investment. Some people do not apparently know how to use increased income when they get it. During the Great War many workers received wages that they never dreamed of getting before; but too many of them spent about all they got, and this was not all due to the increased cost of things in general.

(3) Some workers may need to take advantage of unions or combinations in order to obtain the returns from their services that they really deserve. Sometimes increases obtained in this way are acquired without any reference to the efficiency or interest exhibited by the worker. One's conscience and his sense of social justice ought to guide him as to when it is

right and when it is wrong to try to force increased income by the use of this method.

Is it wise for a person to carry on some "side line" vocation as a means of adding to one's regular income? Do you know any people who are doing this successfully? Can those members of the family who are not "gainfully employed" do anything to assist in keeping the family finances safe? The Census Bureau does not consider a housekeeper "gainfully employed." Is this correct?

127. Savings — How and How Much? — Should everybody save something? One would judge that some people do not think so by the way they get rid of the money that comes into their hands. But who can tell when he may have need for some of the money he is earning today? If it is true, as has been pointed out, that at the age of 55 nearly half of those who are working are not earning enough to support themselves, surely they ought to have saved up something during the days of their prime so that they will not have to be a burden to others after they have reached the halfway post in life. Misfortune comes sometimes, too, to those who are a long way " this " side of 55. Then savings, even though not large, may be found very handy. Besides, the very habit of saving helps to teach one the wise use of even that part of his income which he spends. It forces one to do at least a little planning in order to make possible the owning of a substantial financial umbrella for the inevitable " rainy day."

How to save is a very simple matter, in theory at least. Don't spend all you get. Don't buy things that you know are purely and solely luxuries. Plan your spending so that you have some idea as to where you are going to come out at the end of the month or at whatever other period your pay-check arrives. It is not possible to tell every person or every family in advance just what for them is the best way to go about it. But these general principles will apply in almost any case.

There can be too much saving. There can be saving of the wrong kind. The proper care of one's mental, moral, and physical health must come ahead even of saving. The kind

of savings, too, that consists simply in hoarding money, as Silas Marner did, is not likely to do any good either to the one who hoards or to anybody else. Savings must be used in order to help anybody. It takes good judgment to know what to spend for and when to spend, or to decide when it is time to draw on your savings fund for things that you

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CHECKING UP ACCOUNTS IN A SCHOOL SAVINGS BANK

The boys of this junior high school in New York run a savings bank themselves under the supervision of one of their instructors.

may particularly need. But we must learn to exercise that sort of judgment.

In all this we have not said a word to encourage anybody to be extravagant or careless. One of the finest things that a person can do in school is to learn the habits of thrift, economy, and foresight. Abraham Lincoln said: "Teach economy; it is one of the first and highest virtues, and begins with saving money." School banks have meant the beginning of financial habits which have proved to be of great value later on. The

person who gets his necessary food, clothing, or books now, but saves something besides, is the one who is more likely to have what he needs in the way of food, clothing, or books later on in life. Most of us probably need to be urged to save rather than to be advised against unwise saving. How much to save or how much we can save, we shall each have to decide for ourselves.

Do you know of families or individuals who, in your opinion, honestly cannot save anything? When such conditions exist do you think the fault is with the families themselves or with the conditions of industry and society that prevail today? Do you know cases of poverty that have resulted from people's trying to live beyond their means?

Should children be given an allowance, or should they be obliged to earn their spending money? How can they be encouraged to save? Should your school do more than it is doing in this respect?

128. Family and Personal Budgets. — The budget plan of handling one's income is strongly recommended by those who have given special thought to the matter of economy, though it is more talked about than practiced. By a *budget* we mean a carefully thought-out plan which takes account of the probable income for a certain period and sets apart portions of that income to meet necessary expenses. It is universally admitted that well-managed governments must have carefully planned budgets. After all, is there any difference between a government's and a family's finances, except in the amount of money to be handled?

At the first of the month or year, or some other regular period, a careful estimate can be made of the necessary and desirable expenses for the month. Then if this estimate is adhered to, there can be no doubt where all the money goes. Altogether too often a family's income is spent recklessly, with no thought of what they will live on when all the money has been used. Too many families live high for two weeks and then starve themselves for the rest of the month. Others have everything charged that they buy and simply take a

chance that when the bills come in the first of the month they will not be bigger than the monthly pay-check.

Some careful investigators have decided that the ideal division of the expense account of the family of ordinary means is as follows: 30 per cent for food, 20 per cent for household expenses, 10 per cent for running expenses such as heat, light, laundry, and new furniture, 15 per cent for clothes, and 25 per cent for the higher life — education, recreation, church, charity, and the like. Probably few families could tell with exactness how much of their income goes for each of these items. This bad management of the home is the chief reason why many families are bankrupt today and are always complaining about the high cost of living. Only when families use common sense and buy without waste can their expenses be controlled. There is no better place than the home to apply the arithmetic that is taught in the school. "Economy" in the old Greek sense of the word actually meant "home management."

How many families that you know of keep a budget? Are there any families who could not follow this plan? How may it help to keep down the cost of living? In case a family's income is small, which of the items mentioned above are they likely to cut first?

How much does the ordinary high school or college boy or girl know about the expenses of his or her family? Should people of those ages know fully the financial conditions of the family? Is it customary or right for children to think of the father as a walking check-book?

Make a detailed estimate of the expenses necessary to clothe and feed a family of five for a year in moderate comfort. Is this more or less than you and your family spend? From what you have observed or heard, do you think the average family has an income as large as you have estimated to be necessary?

129. False Economy. — Over-indulgence in saving is not a besetting sin in Americans. Yet there are people, as we have said, who, when they do try to save, go at it in the wrong way.

It is the wrong kind of economy, for instance, to deny ourselves wholesome food and enough of it in order to make a show on clothes or enjoy expensive amusements. The person who

denies himself things that are really necessary for his health and his mental and moral welfare, so that he may have some money to use when he is 70, is not likely to have the chance to use it at 70. Boys working their way through college have been known to make this sort of mistake in trying to live without eating enough. Going into debt for a little while would be better business for them than ruining their health and paying doctors' bills afterward.

Another all too common mistake we see among pupils in school is being so very anxious to get to work ! They cannot bear to take a year or two more in school, but must quit the class room and go out to work for whatever salary a person of their inexperience can get. Waiting a year or two and then making the sort of progress the qualified person can hope to make is far better economy.

Another frequent sort of "economy" is that of buying things that you do not need just because they are "bargains." It does not always pay to buy the thing that is cheapest. If it lasts only half as long as a better quality of goods, you surely should not pay more than half as much for it. On the other hand, the mere fact that people ask high prices for things does not mean that those goods are necessarily high class.

Good judgment — ordinary horse sense — is the only safeguard against unwise economy. If you need a thing for only a little while, there is no object in paying the highest possible price for it. But if you are looking for something that will last a lifetime, or a large part of it, whether it is health or education, or something of a more material nature, then get something good. It will be economy in the long run.

What do you think of the suggestion conveyed by the advertisement, "Buy a Ford and spend the difference"? When is buying an automobile sound economy and when is it not? What sort of goods would you regularly buy from a five-and-ten-cent store? Is it sound economy to do all your purchasing from mail-order houses? Is it good business to buy from a store because it gives trading stamps? Would it have been wise economy for the United States

government to haggle over the cost of putting up army camps in 1917?

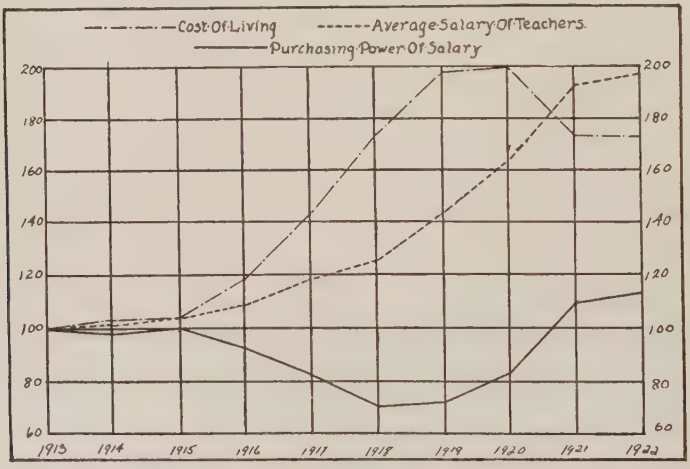
130. Wise Economy; Thrift. — Good advice does not stop with telling what not to do. It makes clear what one ought to do as well. Wise economy is just a synonym for thrift, and thrift means thoughtful and careful management of one's money and property. Much has been said about this in late years, yet none too much. It takes many forms.

First, we can be thrifty in the use of our time and strength. If we plan thoughtfully our times for study, for work, and for play, and then use them as we have planned them, barring the inevitable unexpected interruptions that do occur in the "best regulated families," we shall get more done, with less strain and worry, than could possibly be expected in the absence of this wise economy. The old advice "work while you work, and play while you play" will always be sound economy. Sometimes it may be wise economy to go to the expense of buying a washing machine rather than to have the wife and mother use up so much of her strength on the family washing as to make her feel tired the rest of the week and unable to do justice to her other duties.

Do you have a schedule which you follow regularly in preparing your school work? If not, why not? Are your home duties, if you have any, arranged in any definite fashion?

We can be thrifty in regard to our food and clothing and the other things that we use. "Get your money's worth" may sound crude, but it is good sense. To buy what we need rather than what somebody else buys or what a passing fad calls for, is sound sense. In a pamphlet, "Ten Lessons in Thrift," issued by the United States government during the Great War, the following suggestions are offered for one to consider when he is thinking of buying something: Do I need it? Do I need it now? Do I need something else more? Will it pay for itself in the end? Do I help or injure the community in buying this?

Using the left-overs instead of throwing them into the garbage-can cuts down the kitchen bill considerably. People joke about hash, but it is a money-saver. Clothing does not need to be thrown away the instant it shows signs of wear. With proper attention these signs of wear will not come so soon, and when they do come skillful repairing will keep them unnoticed for some time. Houses and barns can be painted



PURCHASING POWER OF TEACHERS' SALARIES

Teachers' salaries have increased notably in recent years, yet you observe that they mean only a little more in purchasing power than they did ten years ago.

before the wood rots or cracks. Furniture, books, and the like, can be handled carefully instead of being thrown or knocked about regardless of the damage done.

This same care of property which we should suppose any sensible person would exercise toward his own things will be displayed by the good citizen toward public property. It is a shame the way public buildings are sometimes defaced by knife-cuts and pencil marks, and lawns or flower beds torn up without excuse. Somebody has to pay the cost of repairing these damages, if indeed they can be repaired at all. That

somebody is ourselves. We find it charged up in our tax bill.

We can be thrifty, too, in our savings. Putting them where they will do the most good for us and at the same time be safe is both thrift and sound sense. Putting in our spare time when there is nothing else that we need to do at earning a little money "on the side" is also a sign of a thrifty disposition that will stand us in good stead in years to come.

We spend in this country in a year $400,000,000 for chewing gum, candy, and soft drinks. Is this wise economy? May it be cheaper to buy some things in large quantities than in small? Is it more economical to get goods "charged and sent" than to bring them home yourself? Why do many stores encourage people to carry charge accounts?

131. Investments, Wise and Otherwise. — What shall we do with the money which we succeed in saving? What does *investment* mean, anyway? Just this. Putting our savings to work for us instead of letting them lie idle. A good investment brings in returns to us while we eat and sleep and go about our regular business. Investment is not gambling. Savings properly invested help other people as well as ourselves.

Too many people, however, are not satisfied with a safe and sane investment. The "get-rich-quick" bug has bitten people in all generations and in every land. For a while rash enterprises can be kept going by using the money that comes in from new "investors" to pay big returns on that which has already been "invested." But the smash surely comes some time, just as it did in the case of the famous "Mississippi bubble" in English history or the more recent exploits of Charles Ponzi of Boston.

A few considerations we ought always to insist upon. The principal which we invest should be secure, so that we are at least sure of getting our money back. We must not expect exceedingly high profits. Anything promising over 10 per cent interest you can be sure has much risk attached to it, if people have to be asked to invest their money in it. Plenty

of people with money to spare are looking for a safe investment that will pay as high returns as that. It does not need to be advertised in big black head-lines.

"Investigate before you invest." Do not go into a proposition simply because some one whom you know recommends it or is connected with it. Study every proposition thoroughly. Here at least the "show-me" attitude is reasonable. Deal with people who are generally recognized as honest and sensible, and, if possible, who have had experience in buying and selling. You cannot hope to get something for nothing.

United States government bonds are as safe as anything on earth. The bonds issued by states, cities, counties, and school districts are also usually to be trusted. On this sort of thing the interest paid is never high, but usually the income from such investments is exempted from taxation.

Bonds issued by well-known or soundly managed corporations are often entirely safe. Railroads, electric light and power companies, and some large industrial concerns are often as safe holders of your savings as anything can be except the government itself. Usually the bonds which they issue are backed by a mortgage on their property and the interest on these bonds has to be paid before the stockholders can receive any dividends (§ 149).

Real estate is usually a sound investment; for generally you can be sure that the land will be there anyway, and if you carry insurance on a house that property is also protected from loss. Investment in the stock of building and loan associations sometimes pays well, and is particularly helpful to those who cannot pay at once the entire cost of building a house. By owning shares in building and loan associations and making payments on them month by month, many a family has become the owner of a dwelling when otherwise the accomplishment would have been impossible.

The savings bank seldom pays more than 4 per cent interest and perhaps not that. But you can draw out your money if you need it on comparatively short notice. Insurance policies

pay you still smaller interest, but along with it they give you and those dependent upon you financial protection in case anything happens to you. There are plenty of safe investments. Let those who have money to risk take the big chances and make the big plunges. Most of us cannot afford to take a chance on losing what we do have.

If you controlled a "good thing," would you try to share it with strangers? Would you consider an investment in Florida land safe? in a Mexican gold mine? in a telephone company? in a concern to make a substitute for gasoline?

132. Protecting the Unwary. — "A sucker is born every minute," it has been frequently said. Just as some people have to be forced to respect the laws of health and to get an education, so others have to be forced to keep out of bad investments and to be prevented from throwing away their money. Sometimes perfectly honest people who really want to use their savings wisely do not have the knowledge or experience that enables them to distinguish between good and bad business propositions.

Our oldest laws to protect the unwary are those against gambling and lotteries. There was a time when lotteries were used regularly to get money to put up a new church or for similar worthy purposes. But lotteries, baseball pools, punch boards, and the various other gambling games, even if honestly managed, bring success to only a few and loss, large or small, to a great many. The United States government now forbids the use of the mails for the advertisement of lotteries or gambling schemes or for any purpose where there is intention to defraud anybody.

Especially in the cities, the local laws against gambling and betting are often ignored or very poorly enforced. Sometimes the officials themselves take part in these things. The encouragement of the gambling spirit is not the only evil that results from this, for gamblers, in order to make sure that they were going to win, sometimes have bribed baseball players and

others. Horse racing has been almost ruined as a sport by this sort of thing.

One sort of institution that the innocent need to beware of is the " bucket shop." This is operated by a person who pretends to buy and sell stock, but who very seldom deals in stock that has a recognized market value and does not actually buy and sell any except when it is absolutely necessary. The purpose of his game is to speculate on the rise and fall of the market price of the stocks in which he deals. Bucket shops are illegal in many places.

To protect honest investors from fraud a number of states have passed what are called " blue-sky laws." These are laws that forbid the sale of stock in corporations that do not carry on an honest or substantial business. A state officer or commission in the states that have these laws must be satisfied as to the honesty and soundness of corporations whose stock is advertised for sale, before it may be sold. In some places where there is no blue-sky law, the local government or Chamber of Commerce maintains a bureau that will advise any would-be investor as to the wisdom of a particular proposition. Some of our weekly or monthly magazines maintain departments from which their readers may secure advice in matters of this kind.

When a person once gets bitten he hates to admit it. That is one reason why it is sometimes hard to check up on the operations of swindlers and vendors of fake stock. They frequently go after ministers, teachers, widows, and others whose standing in the community is such that they are unwilling to advertise the fact that they have been caught in a crooked investment enterprise. For such people the only safe policy is to stay out.

Why do good investments often seem less attractive than bad ones? Can laws remedy all the evils of unwise investment?

132. The Responsibility of the Successful. — Now, does the man or woman of means owe any responsibility to those who are less fortunate? One reads in the newspapers occasional

stories of hundreds of thousands of dollars spent for elaborate decoration of one millionaire's residence. We are told that money by the thousands is spent in one year by society women on their pet poodles. A starving man reads such things in a newspaper left on a park bench and he becomes an anarchist or advocates the overthrow of our whole social system. Why, he asks, should a man live always in luxury and never know the meaning of struggle and want, even by taking the trouble to

THE OPEN AIR ORGAN AT SAN DIEGO

This was the gift of John D. Spreckles to the city. Many concerts are given here, but of course they do not always draw such large crowds as the one shown in the picture.

see them, merely because his father made money selling meat or clothing to other people? What is our answer to be?

Some of our richest men have not been content to play the part of the priest and the Levite in the parable of the Good Samaritan, but have tried to do some good with their money, and there have been others less widely known who have acted in the same way. When wealth comes to men without much struggle, surely it must be intended that those who are given it are to be stewards of it for the good of all. They must

inevitably be in some sense leaders of the people, for business cannot go on without the wealth which they possess. The opportunity is theirs to use it so that all will be benefited.

Wealth, to do the most good, must be distributed among many instead of being kept by a few. Perhaps some great things would never have been accomplished if some people had not possessed the means to attempt them. There may be, then, two justifications for large fortunes; that great enterprises may be undertaken which could not otherwise be attempted and which, if successful, will serve all the people; and that institutions may be established which all may enjoy and public services be performed which will help the whole community.

Perhaps it would be correct to say that the wealth which Rockefeller and Carnegie have handled is after all the people's money, and that in making use of it as they have, they have simply turned the people's money into things of which the people can get the benefit. On no other ground, morally at least, can the accumulation of great fortunes be justified. The credit which these men deserve is not for generosity but for recognizing in some measure their obligations to the less fortunate part of society. They found out some of the needs of their fellow-men and tried to relieve them.

Have you ever received any benefits from the benefactions of these rich men? Is the country better off because these great fortunes and others like them were piled up? Would American industry have developed to its present greatness if no big fortunes had been accumulated? Would the money which has been given from these fortunes have been equally well spent if it had been paid out in higher salaries to the employees under the direction of these financiers?

How might the ordinary rich man justify his riches? Are poor men ever guilty of the same quality of conduct which we connect with the selfish millionaire? Would most people be rich if they could? Are there any disadvantages or troubles experienced by reason of possessing great wealth? What would you do with a million dollars? To what extent do you have any responsibility toward any one else by reason of your income or opportunities?

True success is not necessarily measured in money, but reasonable financial success is possible for most people by hard work, saving, and wise investment. A family budget and wisely planned personal expenses are exceedingly valuable. In investments, most people should consider safety first rather than unusually big returns. And if one succeeds in laying up wealth, he should use it for the good of his fellows.

SPECIAL TOPICS

An Ideal Family Budget.
The Career of Famous Financiers.
The Troubles and Worries of the Rich.
Insurance — Its Forms and Value.
Life Insurance — Who Should Carry It, and How Much?
Resolved, that no grown person in the United States, who is in good health, needs to be poor.

A STUDY IN THRIFT

Either at this point in the study or as a series of special exercises it may be worth while to give special attention to a discussion of personal economy, savings, and thrift. This can be made very direct and practical, though of course the teacher should be careful to use tact and avoid offending any one unnecessarily in any personal application of principles that might be made. The following brief outline can be developed by teacher and class as fully as time will permit:

- Economy of time
  - Planning for study in school
  - Arranging time for home study, work, and play
  - Concentration upon work
  - Play, recreation, and improvement
  - Right use of vacations
- Wise use of materials
  - Home
    - Clothing — buying, care, mending
    - Food — marketing, cooking, avoidance of waste
    - Implements and utensils — need, care
    - Buildings and grounds — appearance, repair, improvement
  - School
    - Books and supplies — preservation, proper use

School (*continued*)
Buildings and furniture — avoidance of damage, repair, responsibility for use
Grounds and surroundings — attractiveness, care, improvement
Elsewhere
Care of property of churches, clubs, societies
Use of public property — library books, parks, playground material, etc.
Earning and saving
Extravagances to avoid
At home
Material often wasted which has a money value
Expenses of public money
Unnecessary amusements and luxuries
How pupils can earn money
Extent to which this is desirable
Ways available
What to do with earnings
Personal needs
Public causes to be helped
Investments
Thrift stamps
School savings fund, etc.
Planning your budget

READINGS

Lessons in Community and National Life, A–14, B–23, C–7, C–24.
Carver — Elementary Economics, Chapters 40, 41.
Carlton — Elementary Economics, Chapters 5, 7.
Thompson — Elementary Economics, Chapter 6.

ORGANIZING BUSINESS

CHAPTER XVIII

THE FOUNDATIONS OF INDUSTRY

"We are prosperous now; we should not forget that it will be just as important to our descendants to be prosperous in their time."
— Roosevelt.

134. Factors in Industry. — The economist says that there are three factors or agencies that help in producing the things we want to use, eat, or wear. He defines them as follows:

Land is any gift of nature which is used in industry. In this sense of the word it means not merely the ground we build houses on or the soil we cultivate. The trees of our forests, our mineral deposits, and the water that turns mill-wheels are land. A longer expression that means the same thing is *natural resources.*

Labor is any activity of human beings that enters into industry. This applies to mental and physical effort alike. In economics the man in the office who does nothing but think and give orders and dictate letters is just as much a laborer as the man who looks after the furnaces in the great mills or the girl who watches the swiftly moving shuttle in the factory.

Capital is any product of past industry that is used in producing more goods. Be sure you get this idea straight. Money itself is seldom capital. Wealth — which includes all the possessions of a person or corporation or community — includes capital. But capital is only that part of wealth that is actually employed in producing more wealth. The machinery in the mills, the trains on the railroads, and even the ditch-digger's shovel, are all capital. All these were once made

by man and are now used by their owner to produce something more.

Some economists distinguish a fourth factor which they call *management.* By this term they mean the employment of land, labor, and capital in their proper relations or proportions. The manager decides how much of each of those three factors shall be used in any particular industry or at any particular time. Many prefer to consider management simply one form of labor, and we shall not at this point pay special attention to it as a factor by itself.

Which of these factors do you consider most important? Why?

135. The Services of Land and Natural Resources. — We may not all agree as to which of these fundamental factors is most important, but without land certainly nothing can be accomplished. We must have it before labor can work or capital be put to work. It comes first, whether it is most important or not.

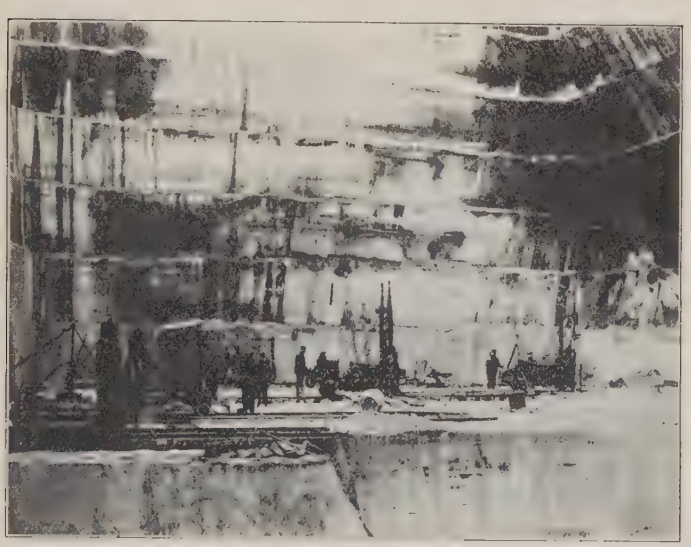
Land supplies man with *standing room.* It gives him a place where he may live and work. This service of land is so simple and commonplace that we may be tempted to overlook its real significance.

Land also supplies man with *raw materials.* The ore or the coal from the mines, the trees in the forest, the hides out of which we make shoes, are all really gifts of nature. To speak of " Mother Earth " is to speak truly.

Further, from nature we obtain the forces that enable us to use these raw materials. It may seem strange to express it this way, but the *animal force* such as horses and mules supply is in economics a form of land, since animals are a gift of nature. The power supplied by the water which turns our mill-wheels and even the wind which turns our windmills are forces of nature which men use in industry.

Moreover, natural conditions often determine the *character of the industry* itself. They encourage or forbid the carrying on of some industry at a particular place. They settle the

question of whether the chief industrial activity of this neighborhood shall be mining, or farming, or something else. It is true, of course, that men today are not so bound by natural conditions as they used to be. They have learned to overcome many obstacles in their industrial progress. Desert lands are made fruitful by irrigation; marsh lands are made fit for use by drainage; tunnels are cut through huge mountains and railroads run through them. But lakes, rivers, and seas,



In a Vermont Marble Quarry

You can easily distinguish the different levels at which the work of cutting out the marble is carried on. Waste blocks and slabs after the marble is cut are sometimes used for paving sidewalks in the "marble" towns.

mountains, and beds of coal will always make a great deal of difference with the industrial activities of a community.

What are the chief industries of England? Why do these industries prevail there? Mention some other country that is vitally affected by its surroundings. Can you mention any other ways in which man is modifying his environment? Do you think of any other services rendered by land or natural resources?

136. Private Ownership of Land. — If these elements of which we have been speaking are gifts of nature, is it right for private individuals to get possession of them and use them for their own advantage? Some of them have not been brought under the command of men, but many are controlled by a small part of the people. Is this good for society in general?

We have suggested, in speaking of home life, that to own one's dwelling usually gives a substantial tone and settled

A Coal Breaker

In northeastern Pennsylvania these are very common.

character to family life. The private ownership of land, in general, must have some of that same sort of effect upon industry; for if people can feel that they can possess and use a certain part of the earth's surface or its resources, they will very likely go about their industrial activities with much more interest and enthusiasm. Owning land, as well as owning other property, tends to create a sense of respect for the rights of others and a desire to have law and order established and maintained. Certainly the right to hold land as private

property is a foundation principle of industry as now carried on in our country.

But how did any one obtain the right to claim a plot of land as his own? If your folks own the land and house where they live, probably they paid good money for it to some one else and received for the money, not only the land, but a written or printed document called a *deed*. This deed describes the property in question, states that it has been sold by John Smith to James Brown, and is signed before some notary public or justice of the peace.

But where did John Smith get that land? And where did the person get it who disposed of it to John Smith? If we trace the history of this thing far enough back we shall find that in this country, at least, there is somewhere a grant of it from a government. The title may have come directly from the government of the United States, as in the case of the land which has been obtained by "homesteaders" in many of our states, or it may go clear back to the colonial days when some English king issued a grant or charter. These first land-holders among our ancestors, when we come down to the facts of the case, held the land simply because they were strong enough to do so. With some exceptions they cared very little whether the red men who were here first had any claim to the land or not.

Many problems have come out of this matter of land ownership. There are three general ways in which land may bring wealth to the owner. He may sell it, he may rent it to others, or he may cultivate it. But sometimes he does not do anything with it when he first gets possession of it. While other people are developing the neighborhood, the owner may simply hold the land without its being improved, until it can be sold for a big price. Such speculation is sometimes very undesirable, for by it, without working at all, one man may gain wealth at the expense of many.

Have you yourself ever received any benefit from the private ownership of land? Is your community better off because of it?

How would you like to have your community own all the land within its boundaries?

If possible, trace back to the original owners the title to the land which your family owns.

In the rural districts, too, there are problems connected with land-holding. Many farms are mortgaged — that is, some one else than the owner has a money interest in the property. Sometimes this comes about when a person is not able to pay the full price at the time he buys the property. He may borrow some money or not pay all the price down, and then give the person to whom he is indebted a claim on the property for the amount that is due. If he does not pay what he owes at the time he agrees to do so, his creditor may cause the property to be sold and get what is due him in that way.

To own and cultivate farms under these conditions is often very unsatisfactory. Renting them brings about frequently the same situation. Much of the money which the struggling farmer takes in has then to go toward paying rent or interest on the mortgage, and he may be getting deeper in debt all the time. It seems as if he is working simply to help somebody else get rich. He loses heart, fails to keep the property in good condition, and drops into the hopeless, unprogressive class of citizens who are of little use to themselves or to their community. Wherever a large proportion of the farms in a neighborhood are either rented or heavily mortgaged, you can be sure something is wrong.

The renter in a city or town sometimes is in the same class as the " tenant farmer," for he cannot be expected to take the same interest in improving some one else's property that he would if it were his own. Some think that the land in the big cities should be taken over by the city for the benefit of all, since, they believe, private ownership of it has done all the good it can do for a densely populated community. When less than one house and lot in ten on Manhattan Island is owned by the people who occupy it, it does not seem that private

property in land is any longer a great blessing to most New Yorkers. In few large cities do many more than one-fourth of the families own their dwellings.

The title to property is also sometimes a cause of trouble, especially if the property has changed hands several times. It is well for a purchaser to have a lawyer or other responsible party look into this question when buying real estate. One ought to be sure that all previous owners have disposed of all their claims, or if they have not, that he understands exactly what their claims are. There are some "title guarantee" companies that make a business of this kind of work. Then if any question is raised about the title after they have investigated it, they will assume the responsibility for any lawsuits that may be brought which would question their own findings in the case.

International

THE HALL OF RECORDS, LOS ANGELES

So that private individuals may not have to bear all the expense and work that is sometimes connected with such investigations of titles, some of our states have adopted a plan known as the *Torrens land title system.* Under this plan the state or county determines the title to all registered land within its borders. Then when the land changes hands, it is a simple matter, with little expense, for the change to be recorded, and the buyer is sure of the title to his property and is saved the expense of having the title searched.

Where would you go in your community to find out about the ownership or valuation of a piece of land in which you are interested? Where is the office which keeps records of deeds, mortgages, wills, and the like? What is the difference between a first mortgage and a second mortgage?

What is meant by an "absentee landlord"? Is it good for a neighborhood to have many of them? Would you rather own or rent the place where you live? Why? What people might prefer to have their property mortgaged and why?

137. Methods of Cultivating Land. — There are two methods by which farming may be carried on. They are commonly referred to as *extensive* farming and *intensive* farming. Though they differ greatly in many ways, each has its place, depending on the nature of the soil and the kind of product which is sought.

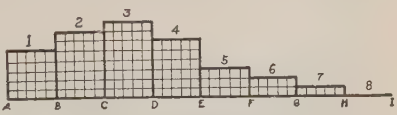
In the Middle West of our country extensive farming thrives. The farms are exceedingly large, some covering 10,000 acres. A great amount of investment in land, in expensive and up-to-date machinery, and in money to pay all expenses until the crops can be marketed, is needed.

Generally a staple crop such as oats, wheat, or corn is raised on such a farm. Laborers of all kinds are hired, from expert managers down to men employed for only a short time. While the greater part of the work is done by machinery, still, especially at harvest time, a large number of men are required.

Intensive farming, however, is more suitable for the man of small resources who prefers to work for himself, or with a small number of helpers. This can be seen especially in the eastern states of our country, where the farms do not cover on the average more than fifty acres. It is even more noticeable in a country like Japan, where a farm may not include more than two or three acres. To be most successful, such a farm must be situated near a market to which the farmer can easily take or send his own products. A variety of crops must be raised and "rotated" from year to year so that each crop will take from the soil and give to it something which the preceding crop did not.

In connection with the cultivation of land it is well for us to consider the *law of diminishing returns*. This applies in most industries, but is especially noticeable in agriculture and mining.

Suppose a man has a piece of land to cultivate. By working upon it and using capital in the form of fertilizers, tools, and other farm equipment, he raises its product from nothing at all to an amount that may be represented by, let us say, $500. Next year perhaps he puts on the same piece of land twice as much labor and capital as before. Probably he will add to the amount produced, not only another $500, but some besides — enough to make $1200 in all. The following year he may use on this ground three times as much labor and capital as he did the first year. Perhaps this time he increases the total product not only $500 or $700 more, but enough to make it amount all together to $2000. So far he has been rewarded by constantly *increasing* returns in proportion to the amount of labor and capital he puts upon the land.



THE WORKING OF THE LAW OF DIMINISHING RETURNS

Now maybe he puts four times as much work and capital upon this land, but discovers that instead of adding $700 or $800 to his total product the increase is only $600. This means that the point of *diminishing* returns has been reached. Whether this would happen after the third, fourth, or some other multiple of the original amount of labor and capital, he could tell only by experience. But after the point has been reached, it becomes less profitable, in proportion, to add new amounts of labor and capital. Putting on five times as much as at first might add only $300 to the product which would result from using four times the original amount.

Just how far this process will be carried, the farmer will have to judge from conditions in general. Usually he will not add labor and capital much beyond the point where diminishing returns begin, and will never knowingly go to the point where the added returns cease to be greater than the added labor and capital which he uses.

This, then, is the law of diminishing returns: in the cultivation of land or the working of a mine and to some extent in any other industry, the application of labor and capital will up to a certain point bring in constantly increasing returns in proportion to the amount used; but after this point is reached the application of additional capital and labor will not bring in returns proportionately as great.

What do you know about extensive farming? Where else is it carried on besides in the Middle West of our country? Which way would you prefer to farm, extensively or intensively? Why? What kinds of crops are best suited for either method? Have you ever seen instances of the working of the law of diminishing returns? What facts would you consider in deciding where to buy a farm? Draw a plan of a well-situated and well-arranged farm.

138. The Waste of Natural Resources. — When our forefathers first came to this country, they found a land gifted by

Cord Wood

Piles of wood like this are still seen on many a farm. But fuel of this sort would soon be exhausted if people had to depend upon it everywhere.

nature with extraordinary resources. Fertile soil, timber, minerals, water, and diversified animal life all were here. But from that time till now waste and wanton destruction of these gifts of nature have taken place. While European countries thriftily conserved their limited resources, we heedlessly squandered our far greater ones. Two-thirds of the great forests of our country have been cleared away. Trees were cut down ruthlessly to satisfy men's greed for profits. No thought was given to setting out more trees.

The water wealth of this great country has also been abused. The greater part of it already is in the hands of corporations,

which use it for their own private gain. To let this enormous power go to waste is certainly not desirable, but to give the control of it to a few men who use it to make money out of the people is almost as bad.

In the same manner that our forests have been destroyed, our mines also have been wasted. Private operators who thought only of the greatest possible gain secured control of many of them. In many cases only that part of the coal, iron, or whatever it might be, was taken out, which could be worked with very little cost or trouble. The rest of the vein was often entirely abandoned and could now be opened up only at great expense. Consequently the supply of minerals which ought to be available for us has decreased inexcusably.

Animal life, too, has not been spared. Some finely plumed birds have become almost extinct because thoughtless or selfish women wanted to decorate their hats. The passenger pigeon, which once traveled north and south each year in flocks of many thousands, has gone forever. The buffalo and other animals of use to man narrowly escaped the same fate.

What has been the cause of this waste and destruction? Greed and ignorance are largely responsible. The men who got possession of our natural resources cared only about getting rich quickly. The people seemed to assume that our natural resources were so great that they would last forever, while in reality year by year they were steadily decreasing. Some of the people even had a " don't care " spirit or believed that they had no right to interfere in such matters. It is not much wonder that conservation of our natural resources seemed for a time a notion of " cranks " and that it was not easy to wake up the people to what was really going on. But now we realize that the men who preached conservation spoke the truth, and we are making an effort to correct the abuses which have existed.

Give some particular instances of the waste of natural resources which you know or have read about. Should all animals be pro-

tected? Were you ever guilty of wasting animal life or property or natural resources? Why?

139. Conserving Nature's Gifts. — The policy of our government in the past has been partly responsible for the careless use of our natural resources. We seemed to have an unlimited amount of land which belonged to the people as a whole and hence was called *public land.* To let this lie uncultivated would have been folly, but to go out and settle on it as a

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SEEING AMERICA LAST

The cartoonist of the Saturday Evening Post says, "Our generation saw it first." This is what he fears we are coming to.

pioneer was an undertaking surrounded with perils and difficulties.

To encourage people to take chances and undergo the trials of pioneer life our state and national governments were very generous in offering the public land at ridiculously low figures to those who would settle on it. These "Homestead Acts" brought about the occupation of many thousands of square

miles of some of the richest soil in the world. The westward movement of settlers into the Mississippi Valley and beyond is one of the biggest features of American history. Much land was also given to railroads. Speculators who had no intention of actually settling upon it got possession of thousands of acres by evading the intent of the law.

In order to save the forests of our country from complete destruction, millions of acres of land, largely in the western

Courtesy Forest Service

CLEAN CUTTING

Very little wood has been wasted in cutting out trees in this forest.

states, have been set apart as forest reserves under governmental control. Several thousand men are employed to take care of these reserves. Their duties are to protect the trees from destruction, to plant new ones and to prevent or put out the many forest fires for which careless campers or woodcutters may be responsible. Many states also have forest reserves of their own and employ a forest commissioner to promote conservation and to teach people the proper care and use of trees.

The problem of water conservation is also of great importance. Much loss and suffering have resulted from floods which are thought by many to have been made worse by cutting down the forests. By the construction of dams and reservoirs, flood water may be controlled, at least in part.

So that the people may keep control of what water power remains in their hands, it is proposed to rent to individuals

Courtesy Reclamation Service

THE DESERT BEFORE IT IS IRRIGATED

or corporations the use of streams for power. In this way private speculators cannot get entire control and the people as a whole get some of the profit from their natural resources. A Federal Water Power Board, consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of the Interior, and the Secretary of Agriculture, has been created to oversee the use of the water power on our national public lands.

A great deal has also been done both by private corporations and by the national government toward land conservation. Our great western deserts have become fertile farms after the

water from distant rivers has reached them. Many wonderful irrigation enterprises have been undertaken. Great dams and canals have been constructed to aid in the work. Water is stored up for use and then carried many miles. The Reclamation Service in the national Department of the Interior has charge of the federal government's work in this connection. California has more irrigated farms than any other state, but all our states in the far West have benefited greatly through irrigation.

Much has also been done toward the conservation of our swamp lands, found near the mouth of the Mississippi River

Irrigating a California Vineyard

The raisin industry has become very profitable in California.

and along the Gulf and elsewhere. Drainage canals have been constructed which make this marshy land profitable for agriculture. This not only increases the value and importance of the land but also benefits the people in other ways, as swamp lands always breed disease.

The government also is taking a hand in conserving the minerals of our country. In Alaska, especially, where there is a great supply of coal, our government has refused to allow

private companies to gain control. The policy has now been adopted of leasing these lands, charging a royalty on the products received and requiring thorough operation. The states also are assisting in this great work and are beginning to assume some control over their mineral deposits and to insist on proper methods of mining. In recent years there has been a growing feeling that the coal business was not carried on in the wisest way. One result of the coal strike of 1922 was the creation of a special commission appointed by the President to make investigations which might discover what was wrong with the industry.

Caring for the Birds

Birds in the winter take delight in eating the suet which these boys are tying to the trees.

We have seen that conservation applies to animal life as well as to land and water. All states have fish and game laws to prevent the extinction of these living things. Reserves have been set aside in the southern states to protect the birds, and every effort is made to care for them in the right way. Treaties have been made with Great Britain to protect birds that travel in the United States and Canada. Besides, encouragement is given toward raising and preserving many animals of value to man, which have been almost totally destroyed by our lack of foresight.

This problem of conservation is not, as some may suppose, a

problem for the government alone. Each one of us can help in the great work by refusing to waste or destroy any gift which nature has given us.

Find out what such men as Theodore Roosevelt, Gifford Pinchot, and Franklin K. Lane have done for the conservation movement. What do you understand by conservation? Do you observe Arbor Day? Why is it observed? Did you have all the coal and gas you wanted last winter? Why? Is allowing a water faucet to run continually when the supply of water is low a form of waste? Why? Is it better for the state or for individuals to attend to the conservation of natural resources? Why? Are there any birds in your neighborhood which need special care? Is the small boy who kills birds really wasting our animal life? Why does he do this? What is your part in solving the problem of conservation?

140. Labor and Its Services. — Up to this time we have been considering largely the material side of industry. We are now coming to the personal phase of production and are going to look at it from the worker's point of view — from the human side, so to speak.

The framework of all industry is labor. The iron and steel industry, the leather industry, farming, and all other forms of economic activity, cannot exist without it. Every one engaged in a business in any way is a worker. But not all labor is the same. Labor not only puts material things together but performs other necessary services without which we could not live. There are usually recognized three distinct classes of workers.

The first and least common type of labor is made up of the leaders and managers of industry and of the men prominent in professional work. Few people think of the president of a huge firm as being a laborer, yet he is, as truly as the most poorly paid man in his employ. Without him and the rest of the executive force the business would go to pieces in a very short time.

After the managing group comes the type of laborer sometimes called the " white-collar " or " soft-handed " workman. This includes the clerical workers, such as bookkeepers and

stenographers, and all those whose work is characterized by mental rather than manual labor.

The workers of the other group are sometimes known as the "hard-handers" or "red-shirt" workers. In most cases their work calls chiefly for manual labor. But machinists and

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STREET CAR CONDUCTORS MAKING OUT REPORTS

At the end of a run the number of transfers and cash fares turned in must agree with the number registered, or else the conductor will have to make good any deficiency. In what grade of workers do you classify a street car conductor?

locomotive engineers are included here as well as the great mass of skilled and unskilled laborers.

Do you think that the different kinds of laborers recognize the importance of one another? If not, what is the reason? Are all kinds of labor necessary?

But the individual workers vary in their ability to do things. The ditch digger who works all day with his pick and shovel requires little more than physical strength and endurance to accomplish his work, while quickness alone is needed by the

girl who sorts papers or does some other simple task. And so, since almost no special training is required, we call these workers *unskilled.*

Next come the *semi-skilled* workers. These require at least a little training and some experience before they can do

A Skilled Worker

Not many people have either the skill or the experience of this Japanese workman. He is painting designs on cut velvet.

their work well. A telephone operator or a street car conductor will serve as an example of this group.

The *skilled* laborer is the next type. He must have a considerable period of training, perhaps even as much as four years. He must possess enough originality and responsibility to adapt himself to any phase of his job, no matter how differ-

ent it may be from others. The paperhanger, the carpenter, and the plumber belong in this class.

Going still further we come to the *expert* or *professional* class. All those who require special intellectual or scientific training

Courtesy Union Switch & Signal Co.

AN AUTOMATIC FLAGMAN

This system of giving warning by the use of electricity makes the services of the ordinary flagman unnecessary.

or practice belong here, such as the doctor, the teacher, and the chemist.

Are these classes entirely distinct in this country? Which class do you think is the most numerous? Which class generally receives the highest pay? Is this right? Study a few pages of your city directory and try to determine the proportion of the various kinds of workers.

141. Capital and Its Importance. — We have already defined *capital* as any product of past industry which is used in further production. No industry in existence today can get along without using capital in some form. When men lived in caves and an animal's hide constituted a man's full-dress suit, capital did not exist in great quantities; but even then the

club which the man used in killing the bear for food or clothing was the product of past industry used in further production, and was therefore a crude kind of capital. As time goes on and civilization advances, capital steadily plays a more important part in industry.

Capital serves society in a very real sense. Suppose a railroad uses capital to construct a driveway under its tracks instead of having wagons or automobiles cross the rails and keeping a man there all the time with a flag to warn people of danger. The railroad is recompensed by not having to pay the flagman's wages and by being able to run its trains more freely and swiftly at that point. But society is also better off. The flagman can now work at something that is really of more use, and people who ride under the tracks go much more safely and conveniently than when the road and the tracks crossed at the same grade. Very seldom does the investment of capital in actual business fail to help the public somehow.

We may not include under the head of capital such eminently desirable personal qualities as character, talent, and health; for though they are of immense importance to every one, they cannot conveniently be measured and expressed in definite terms. Only the material things produced by industry which are embraced under the general term *wealth* can be so reckoned. Money may or may not be capital, depending on the way it is used. If it is hidden away in an old shoe, it is no more capital than the shoe, but if it is used to make change or to pay a man's wages, it is used to assist in producing more wealth and is capital.

What has caused capital to become so important? Is money in the bank capital? Who are capitalists? Are you one? Why? Is it good for a country to have many capitalists? Are the goods on a grocer's shelves capital? baseball bats? automobiles? chairs? books? a dentist's instruments?

142. Phases of Economic Interest. — In studying the use of the three factors in production to satisfy our desires, we

may discover four phases of industrial life or economic interest.

The most fundamental of these is *consumption*. This means the use of goods for the purpose of gratifying some want. It was the motive which first impelled primitive man to engage

Cutting Ice by Machinery

These men are making an automobile engine do the work which once they had to do themselves.

in activity of any kind. And all through the years of growing civilization and progress it has continued to be so.

Consumption in one sense means destruction. When we eat an apple, it is destroyed at once. With our books, our clothes, our homes, and our railroad trains, consumption wears them out much more slowly and may not be very noticeable at any one time. But whether the destruction of goods takes place slowly or promptly the desire to use goods to satisfy our wants is always present and always increasing — and that is the main idea of consumption. It is really the foundation of our modern industrial life.

But we cannot consume goods unless there are goods to consume. As man's desire to consume goods increased, he

could not depend upon the things that nature produced without any effort on his part. So he was forced to undertake to *produce* things by his own labor. This labor was very simple at first — in fact it was done entirely by hand. Then rough stone tools were fashioned. Later bronze was used, and then iron and steel. Some kinds of production continued to be very primitive until after the middle of the eighteenth century, when machinery began to play an important part in industry. Since that time marvelous developments have followed.

But we have not yet stated just what *production* is. It is the preparation of goods so that they may satisfy human wants. It may mean getting coal out of the earth so that the factory owner can put it in his furnaces. It may mean shaping the steel so as to make machines to grind wheat into flour. It may mean carrying flour from the mills to your kitchen or to a big bakery. It may mean employing this flour to make bread for us to eat. All these activities and hundreds of others are forms of production — preparing things for the satisfaction of somebody's wants.

If a primitive man produced many things, he would discover that he possessed more goods than he could use. So he would go to a neighbor who had goods of his own and try to make a trade. He would turn over to the neighbor some of his possessions, and in return would become the owner of something that had belonged to his neighbor. The transfer of ownership or possession, generally by using money or a substitute for money, is known as *exchange*. It has come to be so important that we usually think of it as a distinct phase of our industrial life.

There is another phase of economic interests which we call *distribution*. This does not mean the transportation or marketing of goods, as we might at first think. It has to do rather with the division of the returns that are earned by those who have helped in production. How much belongs to the landholder for what the land has done? How much to the worker

who has contributed his toil? How much to the holder of capital who has saved it from his past earnings and put it to use again? It is a complicated and troublesome problem.

Why cannot each worker be rewarded with a part of the product of his industry? Do men consume in order to produce as well as produce in order to consume? In which do they take more pleasure?

Land is indeed the foundation of all economic activity. But of what use is land in itself? The huge trees that stand

Courtesy Brown Hoisting Machinery Co.

How Capital Serves Industry

This machinery carries both ore and coal to the big furnaces. Do labor and land appear here also?

in the forest are of no service unless man with his human labor is there to cut them down and haul them to the market. Very little of this could be accomplished without implements of some kind. So capital also is of vital importance.

It is only through the coöperation of these three factors that our industrial life can take place. Each needs the other two. All are necessary to industry. What a mistake for those who control any one factor to presume that because it is

necessary to industry they may dictate to the others the terms on which they will consent to its use! How much better if all realized their dependence upon one another, and instead of trying to rule the rest, tried to work in harmony with them!

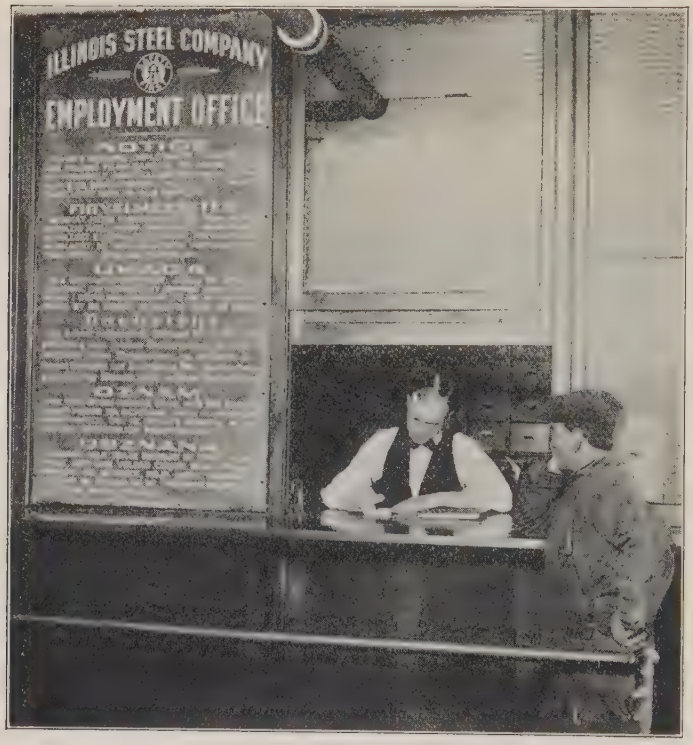
Show how people in various occupations need all three of the factors, as the farmer, the doctor, the grocer, the bricklayer. Of what importance is good business organization?

143. Keeping Labor Employed. — Labor is the only one of the three fundamental factors which possesses intelligence. It can act, lead, and direct. The others must wait to be acted upon. If there is any choice among the three factors with reference to importance, it would seem that labor should come first. Since labor is supplied by human beings and most human beings cannot live without work, surely it is vitally important that labor shall always find the opportunity to do the work necessary to keep the worker and those dependent upon him alive and in good health.

A nation with everybody engaged in work suited to his taste would probably be as nearly perfect as can be expected. No nation has ever reached that stage, but we have at least discovered how undesirable it is to have many men out of work at any time. Idleness leads to shiftlessness and crime. A man loses his ambition and even his ability to work well or to keep at it for a long time. His family may have to suffer from lack of food or clothing and may themselves get into permanent bad habits.

Many conditions contribute to cause unemployment. A man may be sick or injured, some one else may get his job, and when he gets out again he may find that either he cannot do the work any longer or that he is not wanted. Strikes and other difficulties sometimes cause more loss in time and wages than can be made up in a long time, even if extra pay is secured. A period of depression in business such as prevailed from 1893 to 1897 throws so many out of work in the big cities that "bread lines" with thousands waiting for a "hand-out" become a regular feature.

Some trades do not furnish steady employment the year round. There is a much greater demand for coal at some seasons than others. Lumbering can be most easily carried on at certain times in the year. Cold weather makes some kinds



The Employment Office of a Large Steel Company

of carpentry and masonry difficult or impossible. The farmer wants much more help at harvest time than at any other season.

Sometimes the unemployed person is lazy and will not keep any job more than a few weeks. Sometimes he has never learned to do anything well. Such a person can perform only the jobs calling for unskilled workers. The inefficient worker is always the first to be laid off when business is slack.

How does the extent of unemployment in your community or in the country now compare with other times? What is the reason?

Whatever the cause, the effect of unemployment is bad. It is a social loss, an economic waste, and a moral menace. Not only the workman and his family, but society suffers as well. He produces nothing for others to enjoy and has no money to buy what others produce. But how to prevent this condition is not always clear.

The national Department of Labor and many of the states conduct employment bureaus which try to keep all sections of the country or of a state informed of the needs of other sections. It sometimes happens that in one section men may be starving while other sections are clamoring for laborers. It is a bad thing for any community to have qualified workers idle more than is absolutely necessary. Then, too, governments can exercise some supervision of the obtaining or furnishing of employment. Some, though of course not all, of the many private employment agencies have been positively dishonest. Such religious organizations as the Y. M. C. A. and the Salvation Army also try to find positions for those with whom they have to deal.

It is not always easy to get men to go where the work is. They want to live in the city rather than on the farm. They do not want to leave their families or move to another town. They are not willing to work for less than a certain sum, no matter how much they may be in need. For such people neither society nor government can do very much, and for many of them sympathy is wasted. It is a slow process, too, to educate the untrained workers.

Some economists urge that the government should plan its own public works, such as street construction, laying of sewers, and the like, so that the most helpers will be needed at the time when work is slack in other occupations. Others say that insurance against unemployment, as well as against sickness or accident, should be provided by the state. Anything that conduces to steadiness of work and income on the part of

America's millions of workers will help a little toward general happiness and prosperity.

What special problems are connected with getting workers on the farm? What safeguards must be provided if the government undertakes to give work to the unemployed?

Land, labor, and capital are the foundations of industry. All are necessary, and all must be cared for and properly conserved. They must be used, but used wisely, and with regard to the future. We have been very wasteful. In the use of these factors in industrial life, we find four phases of activity, each of which affects the other — consumption, production, exchange, and distribution. Our whole economic existence is one web of relationships, inseparably intertwined.

SPECIAL TOPICS

The National Forest Service.
The Reclamation Service.
What Is Left of Our Public Land.
What Our State Is Doing for Conservation.
The Fish and Game Laws of Our State.
The Protection of the Birds.
The Torrens Land Title System.
The Work of Employment Agencies.
Migratory Birds and Their Protection.
Problems of the Coal Industry.
Problems of Farm Labor.
Market Gardening as a Vocation.
A Great Western Wheat Farm.
Surveying the Public Land.
Our Homestead Laws.
Why People Are Out of Work in Our Town.
Tramps and What to Do with Them.
How Public Land Has Affected American History.
The Crops of Our State.
The History of the Imperial Valley.
Famous Water-Power Projects.
Niagara Falls.
Flood Prevention.

READINGS

Lessons in Community and National Life, A–3, A–6, A–20, B–4, B–5, B–20, C–4, C–5, C–6, C–11.

Marshall and Lyon — Our Economic Organization, Chapters 2, 23.

Leavitt and Brown — Elementary Social Science, Chapters 2–4.

Burch — American Economic Life, Chapters 5, 9–12, 22–24.

Thompson — Elementary Economics, Chapters 9, 10, 24–26.

Haskin — American Government, Chapters 7, 9, 10, 12.

Marriott — Uncle Sam's Business, Chapters 24, 30–37.

Du Puy — Uncle Sam's Modern Miracles, Chapters 5, 6, 9, 12.

Gillette — Constructive Rural Sociology, Chapter 12.

CHAPTER XIX

KINDS OF MANAGEMENT

"The richer any man gets by honest methods in productive industry, the richer does he make his neighbors." — Puffer.

144. Simple Forms of Business Organization. — No business will run itself. Somebody must manage it. Business management consists in putting coöperation and system into the work of producing things.

The oldest and simplest form of management is the *single proprietorship*. The business is owned entirely by one man, whether he is a peddler, a barber, or a shoe manufacturer. All the profits are his, unless he chooses to share them with his employees. Likewise he must bear all the burdens of loss, if his business is not successful. This method enables the industry to be carried on in a uniform way. There can be no disagreement about the best way of doing things, for a man as a rule does not disagree with himself.

With all the new features in modern business management there are undoubtedly still many more single proprietors than there are of any other type of business organization. This system is no doubt the best possible one for a small business, but difficulty begins when the industry becomes large. One man finds trouble in attending to small details. Moreover, the many features of a large business require a wider knowledge and greater capital than one ordinary man is likely to possess.

In order to conduct properly the many responsibilities of a large business, sometimes two, three, or even more persons

may form a *partnership*. Each member contributes something toward carrying on the work. One may give his money, another his time, and still another his experience. All are necessary if the enterprise is to be a success. Then if profits are made, each receives his share, and if the result is failure, the loss is divided among them.

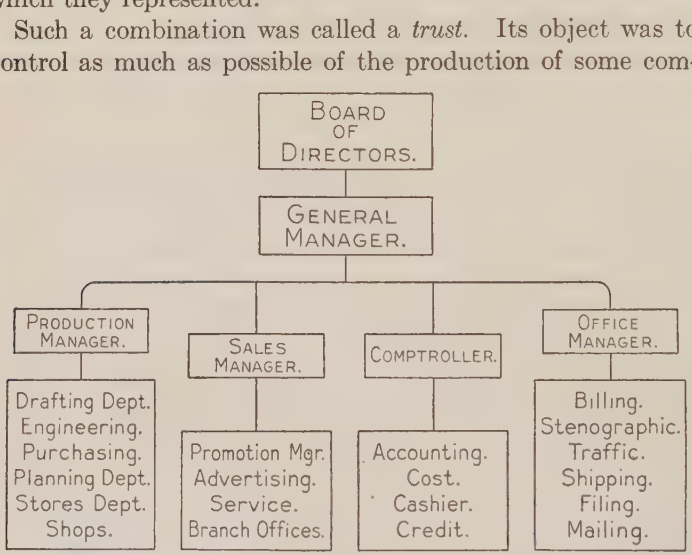
This method, however, has its disadvantages. Each partner is liable for all the debts of the business. There is always the chance for disagreement among the partners, and if one member should die the business must be reorganized.

145. The Corporation. — Almost always for the administration of a large business, and frequently of a small one, the custom today is to form a *corporation*. This is a body authorized by law to carry on business with all the powers and rights that an individual enjoys. It manages its affairs in accordance with the terms of a charter secured from some state government. Every state has laws about organizing corporations, but some states are much less strict than others. In order to secure money to put into the enterprise, the corporation issues stock. Every stockholder is a member of the corporation and usually has one vote for every share of stock that he owns. The stockholders choose a board of directors, and the directors in turn elect a president, vice president, secretary, treasurer, and such other officers as they desire, to conduct the actual management of the business.

The advantages of the corporation are many. It makes possible the investment of the money of many people in one activity and secures their interest in it. It possesses all the powers and privileges of an individual before the law, and some besides. Its existence is permanent, since the business is generally not affected by the death of a stockholder or even of an officer. "Corporations never die." A stockholder is not liable for the debts of the corporation beyond the actual amount of his investment, as a partner is in a partnership. Stockholders in banks may usually be called upon to pay twice the par value of their stock, if necessary, but not in ordinary corporations.

146. The Trust. — The success of the corporation as a form of business management led to the idea of still further combinations. Somewhat over forty years ago a plan was invented by which several corporations engaged in similar business would all turn over their stock to a committee of "trustees," who were to direct the policies of all the corporations which they represented.

Such a combination was called a *trust.* Its object was to control as much as possible of the production of some com-



One Form of Overhead Organization in Business

modity, so that it could regulate prices and buy and sell to the best advantage. The Standard Oil Company was the first great trust. Another plan of combination was to organize a new company, called a *holding company*, which was to have stock of its own, but whose sole object was to hold enough stock in several other companies so that they could be controlled as one. Sometimes, too, the same men would own stock in different corporations and get themselves elected to the board of directors of several of them. Then of course they could manage all the corporations with one particular policy in mind. This scheme is commonly called an *interlocking directorate.*

Many people mistakenly think of a corporation and a trust as being the same thing. The trust is a corporation, it is true, but it is formed by a combination of corporations already existing. There are plenty of corporations, however, that never will join a trust or grow into one. Neither is it right to think that a corporation that does business on a big scale is necessarily a trust. There can be trusts doing small scale business as well as controlling large scale enterprises. Moreover, many trusts have not been notably successful from the financial standpoint. Some that were organized were too ambitious or badly managed. A business can get too big to be properly controlled by one person or a small group of men.

With what forms of business organization are the members of your family connected? Would their business be benefited by being organized on the "trust" idea?

Is it possible for a big business organization to control the activities of smaller ones without actually operating them?

Which form of business organization do you think most numerous today? Why? Make a list of the business houses which you know, classifying them as described in this section. Which do you think the most efficient? What is the popular opinion concerning a trust? Why is this so? Is it better for a young person just starting out in the business world to be connected with a large or a small establishment?

147. Producing Goods on a Large Scale. — The trust always, and the corporation very often, seeks to carry on business on a large scale. *Large scale production* requires an enormous amount of capital and labor besides efficient business organization. Formerly most of the work in industries, as we have noticed, was done by means of simple hand tools. Not so in the large scale production of today. Complex machinery, run by steam or electricity, has replaced muscular energy. But as these mechanical appliances cannot be obtained for nothing, vast sums of capital must be centralized in the hands of a few men. Large scale production has many advantages, as well as a few disadvantages.

BEEF vs. SHARK

Average Weight 1200 Pounds
Cost to Packer per cwt. $14.50

WILL PRODUCE

FROM HIDE

Leathers
Heavy leathers—Soles

Glues
Hair for plaster

FROM FLESH, SINEWS, ETC.

Meats
Fresh—Canned—Pickled

Oils
Lubricating—Illuminating
Oleo

Glycerine
Medicines—Explosives

Greases
Soaps—Lubricants
Tallow

Glues
Sandpapers—Emery cloth
Flake glues—Liquid glue

Gelatines
Edible—Inedible

Meals
Flesh—Blood
Fertilizers

FROM ENTRAILS

Casings, sausage
Instrument strings
Gold beaters' skin
Drum heads

FROM BONES AND HOOFS

Glue and its by-products
Bone meal
Neatsfoot oil
Buttons
Pipe stems
Knitting needles
Combs
Hair pins, etc.
Fertilizer

Average Weight 1200 Pounds
Cost to us per cwt. 20c

WILL PRODUCE

FROM HIDE

Leathers
Finest kid to heaviest soles

Glues
Oils
Natural abrasive

FROM FLESH

Shark steaks
Fresh—Salted

Oils
Lubricating—Illuminating
Flesh—Head

Glycerine
Medicines—Explosives

Greases
Soaps—Lubricants—Tallow

Glues
Sandpapers—Emery cloth
Flake glues—Liquid glues
Printing press rollers

Gelatines
Edible—Inedible

Meals
Flesh
Fertilizers

FROM ENTRAILS

Casings, meat
Instrument strings
Gold beaters' skin
Drum heads
Liver Oil
Medicines
Tanning, etc.

FROM BONES, FINS & TAILS

Glue and its by-products
Bone meal
Refuse oil
Teeth (ornamental)
Fin meat (delicacy)
Tail meat (delicacy)
Fertilizer

Particularly, it lessens the cost of production. This is brought about partly by the use of the most modern machinery, and through a lower cost of raw materials. Many industries that carry on large scale production possess the control of their product from the time it is raw material until it emerges finished. This may be seen in some of our great steel works of today, that own not only the ore and coal required but even the boats and trains which transport them to the factories. The Heinz Company, makers of pickles and preserves, have their own olive groves in Spain. Ninety carloads of vegetables sometimes come to them in one day from their own gardens.

Another advantage comes from the utilization of by-products. By-products are the waste of an industry — that is, that part of the raw material not needed in making its main product — and formerly were considered useless. By special processes these may often be converted into useful articles. The great western packer uses "every part of the hog," it has been said, "except the squeal." At one time cotton-seed was thrown away as being entirely worthless. Then it was used for fertilizer. Next people began to feed horses with it, and today we use cotton-seed oil even in table food.

The picture on the previous page is a copy of an advertisement of a firm which wished to interest people in the manufacture of the by-products from the shark. What a list of unexpected articles can be made from the ox and the shark!

Still another advantage of large scale production is found in the greater efficiency of the work done. Minute division of labor has naturally resulted. Every worker does one thing and does it well and quickly.

Besides, the large amount of money available from large scale production enables the industry to carry on extensive experiments which a smaller producer could not afford to make. It also aids the producer in securing foreign markets for his products. Besides, through its thorough organization it can spend money more economically in advertising. Sometimes it even has different factories in various parts of the country, each one doing some part of the business for which its location gives special advantages.

But large scale production may also have its disadvantages. An extraordinary amount of power is given to a small group of men when so much capital becomes concentrated in their hands. This vast power may be used for good or ill, depending entirely on the character of the men. It may be employed to crush out all competition or to try to secure special privileges from the government.

Likewise the benefits of decreased cost of production may be enjoyed, not by the community, but by the great capitalists themselves, in the form of enormous profits. The corporation seldom will reduce its prices any lower than is necessary to get business, no matter how much it saves by improved methods of production.

The large scale industry may even become too large and consequently hard to manage. Other problems arise from the factory system, which is often inevitable in large scale production. These disadvantages, however, may be remedied if all people connected with an industry will consider the interests of others as well as their own.

What factors have helped in making large scale production possible? Can you think of any other advantages that may come from it? Could modern society exist if production were still carried on on a small scale? Is the consumer benefited by the use of by-products? Mention some large scale producers whose names are familiar to everybody, and observe how far the statements we have made apply to each of them. Will all kinds of production be ultimately conducted on a large scale?

148. Factories and Their Effects. — We have already seen that the Industrial Revolution with its many inventions was the real cause of the growth of the factory system. Up to that time the home was the center of industry. The spinning, the weaving, and even the making of the garments were done here. But complex machinery could not be installed in the home. Consequently great factories were built.

Factories have brought with them many advantages. By increasing the output of goods, they have greatly reduced the cost of production for a single article. Articles which were formerly produced in the home with a great deal of care and expense can now be manufactured very easily in the factory. Lower prices result and the people as a whole benefit.

Then, too, a uniform quality of goods is produced in the factory of today. Formerly one man might be more skilled in weaving cloth than his neighbor, and consequently his goods would be in greater demand and bring a larger price. But this has been changed. Under ordinary circumstances all the cloth turned out by a certain machine has the same quality.

The factory system has also brought with it a decrease in the cost of labor required to produce some articles, but at the same time with

this reduction has come an enormous increase in the cost of capital, such as machinery and workmen's tools.

Then, too, the factory system has been a great cause of the growth of our large cities and towns. It brought the people together in certain districts and forced them more and more to depend on others to produce most of the things which they want. The cities could not exist without the country to feed them. Pittsburgh makes steel for the sky-scrapers of New York, but New York sells to Pittsburghers many of the clothes they wear and the books they read.

But the factory system has also its disadvantages. At first the chief disadvantage was the fact that many skilled laborers were thrown out of work by the introduction of the new machinery. But this condition is no longer very troublesome. It takes only a little while to get workers acquainted with new equipment, and if the product is made and sold more cheaply by the new method, the demand for it is likely to be so much increased that just as many workmen as before are needed to produce it.

The factory system, however, still presents some serious problems. The evils of child labor (§ 198) and the dangers of unguarded machinery and poor ventilation are not so extensive as once they were, but we constantly have to be on our guard lest short-sighted and greedy factory owners let them creep back. The necessary use of machinery to perform hundreds of thousands of operations tends to turn the workers into machines also. Each one may operate one machine, doing some little part of the process, and cease to have any personal interest in the product which comes out of the factory. Unless employers give proper attention to this sort of thing there is great danger that the lives and souls of their workers may become hopelessly dull and spiritless. Besides, the crowding of workmen into large cities often produces slum neighborhoods and encourages vice, disease, crime, and discontent.

Show how the factory system is responsible for the growth of some famous cities and towns in the United States, England, and other countries.

If you have ever visited a factory, what did you think of it? Would you like to work there? If you know people who work in factories, ask them how they like it, and why. Has the factory system as a whole been beneficial or harmful?

149. Financing Great Industries. — Money or something that represents money is needed for every business, large or small. The bigger an industry, the more money it needs. There are millionaires who could if they wished furnish all the

funds necessary to start almost any business enterprise that one can imagine, but very often they have no desire to put their funds into some particular enterprise in which some one else is interested. That is why so often people organize corporations and sell stock to anybody who will buy it. Then, whether you yourself know anything about managing the business or not, your money can be used in it and you can cast a vote in electing some of its officers, if you think that will do you any good.

A stock certificate is simply a printed or written statement declaring that its owner is the possessor of one or more shares of stock in a corporation. Each share is supposed to represent a certain amount of money, most often $100, invested in the enterprise. If the business is successful, dividends will be paid to each shareholder in proportion to the number of shares which he owns. When the business is very profitable, people are often willing to pay for stock much more than its original face value. We say then that it is selling above par. On the other hand, if the business is not being successfully managed the stock may sell far below par, if it sells at all. Perfectly good stocks and bonds sometimes sell below par. Even the Liberty bonds did for a while, because bonds issued by some safe corporations were just then offering so much higher interest than the Liberty bonds.

Stock is often issued in two forms. The holders of *preferred* stock are guaranteed a certain rate of dividend — and no more — if the business is profitable enough to warrant distributing that much, say 7 per cent. *Common* stock has no specified rate of dividend connected with it. It receives whatever is left over after the dividends on the preferred stock have been paid. Often it may receive nothing at all, but if the business is exceedingly profitable it may receive a larger dividend than the preferred stock.

Corporations often secure money, too, by issuing bonds to any one who cares to buy them. These represent money that is lent to the corporation. They commonly run for a fairly long period, ten years to thirty or forty, and the corporation

pays a fixed amount of interest each year — 4, 5, 6, or sometimes even a higher per cent. Frequently these bonds become a mortgage against the property of the corporation. The interest on the bonds must be paid before any dividends can be paid on the stock. If this interest is not paid, some or all of the property of the corporation may be sold in order to make good the obligations of the bonds.

In the last half century we have seen a good many cases of so-called " high finance " in which the methods employed were either dangerous or outright dishonest. Some people, com-

Courtesy American Steel & Wire Co.

STOCKHOLDERS

This and similar firms make arrangements by which their employees can buy stock in the company on very reasonable terms.

monly called promoters, have taken it upon themselves to organize corporations and get people to invest money in them by purchasing stock, though the promoters themselves may have had no intention of keeping their money in the business after it was once started. Frequently they would demand that a considerable number of shares of stock should be given to them as their pay for organizing the corporation and that these shares should draw dividends the same as those which represented actual money investment.

Stock which does not represent actual capital investment in the business is frequently called *watered stock*. Some corporations, particularly those connected with " public utilities " like railroads, light companies, and gas companies, have been

brought almost or quite to the verge of ruin by the dishonest operations of promoters and speculators. Corporations have sometimes tried to pay dividends on more " water " than there was capital stock that represented honest investment. As a result of this sort of thing, and of the sale of fake mining stock or other stock in corporations that never existed or would never do an honest day's business, some people are afraid of the very word " stock."

Yet it is only through such methods of securing funds as the sale of stocks and bonds to the general public that many of our great business enterprises could be carried on at all. The thing to do, if possible, is to safeguard honest financiers so that neither they nor the public will suffer through the performances of dishonest ones. That is why we have in many states and cities such measures as the " blue-sky " laws and laws forbidding stock gambling of which we have already spoken (§ 132).

Concerns which have stock or bonds to dispose of may not wish to bother with the actual work of selling them. Besides, people who wish to invest their money in this way find it convenient to have a place to go for information and other service; so a business has grown up which is entirely devoted to this kind of thing. People who engage in it are known as *brokers*.

In every large city is an organization called the *stock exchange*. In this are represented the brokers who do business in stocks that have a recognized value. People who for some reason wish to dispose of stock in some corporation can entrust the sale of it to a broker. He in turn will try to find another broker who has been asked to buy some of it, and if the two can agree on the price, a sale will be made.

Stocks in corporations which have not established a reputation or which are of doubtful character are sold outside of the stock exchange at what is called the *curb market*. Much of such stock is bought by people as a kind of gamble, in the hope that its price will go up a little and then it can be sold. In fact so much of this kind of thing is done that some people think that all brokers are gamblers or dishonest people. But that is a very wrong idea.

There are also people who do nothing but buy and sell bonds. When a corporation wishes to borrow money to expand its business or for some other special purpose, it will prepare an issue of bonds and then ask one of these brokerage houses to look after the work of disposing of them. Then the bond house will try to find individuals, savings banks, or societies of

Interior of a Stock Exchange

The marks on the blackboard indicate transactions in different stocks. They are reported from New York and elsewhere to this place during the hours that the exchange is open.

one kind or another that have some money to invest, and will try to interest them in these bonds.

If you have some Liberty bonds, look them over and see what is said on them. Read the "market" page in today's paper and see what you can make of it. Are any stocks mentioned there which you would judge to be very good investments? Are any mentioned which you advise people to keep away from?

150. Management and Business Efficiency. — Efficiency is a word we may have overworked in the last few years, but it

nevertheless signifies a great deal in business. It means getting the most results with the least expenditure of time, energy, and money. It applies in any branch of an industry.

There is, for instance, a distinct advantage in a favorable location for an industry. Formerly industries were scattered far and wide over the country almost by chance. If some one felt like starting a new industry in the town where he had always lived, he might try to establish it there, whether the place was fitted for it or not. But now the manufacturer who would carry on his business efficiently considers where he can get suitable laborers, whether he can secure his materials readily, how he may obtain a supply of power to run his machinery, and where the markets are located in which he may sell his goods.

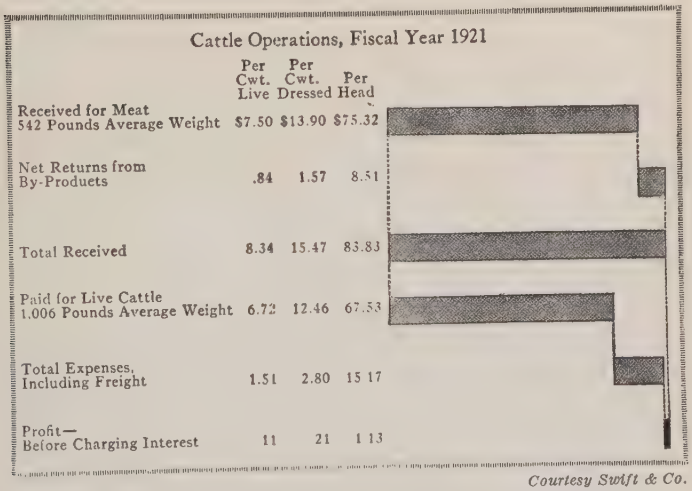
Even after a business has organized, chances for improvement often appear. And so the principle often called *scientific management* has been developed. Under this method a close study is made of all the work of production, even down to the individual motions of a workman. Whenever wasted effort or useless motions are noted, attempts are made to alter them. Sometimes the manner of handling tools is changed ; sometimes the design of a machine is altered. The workmen are then trained in these perfected methods and may be encouraged by the offer of better pay for their effort.

Scientific management, when properly carried out, eliminates all waste effort and provides the easiest possible working conditions for the laborer. The ordinary workman, however, unless the whole thing is fully explained to him, is likely to look upon it as simply another means by which his " boss " is trying to get everything possible out of him. He seldom takes kindly to the idea, at least when it is first proposed.

Probably there is less efficiency and more waste today in getting goods from the original producer to the actual consumer than in any other part of the industrial process. Strawberries may sell for 25 cents a quart in the city when the farmer who raises them is getting only three or four cents. Of course

it costs something to carry the goods from the farm to the city, but the cost for this service nowhere nearly approaches 22 cents a quart.

The so-called *middleman* causes this big problem. He is the wholesaler, the jobber, or the distributor — depending on what he calls himself or what he actually does — who takes charge of the buying and selling of the product from the place of its



Courtesy Swift & Co.

Cost and Profit in the Meat-Packing Business

original production to the place of its final sale. Such a person performs some actual service or else nobody would pay him anything. A manufacturer who is making goods on a large scale may not want to bother with selling to a single person or family. He may prefer to dispose of his product to another person and let that person attend to its further marketing. But sometimes we find four or five middlemen connected with the marketing of some commodity. All of them demand something for their supposed service, and the profits of all are passed on to the people who finally buy and use the goods.

Sometimes the large department stores in cities, or chain stores like the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company, with stores

in towns of all sizes, do actually cut the prices on the goods they sell to a figure lower than that which one would pay in an ordinary store. As one department store puts it: "Buying most, we buy for less; selling most, we sell for less." Of course they wish us to think that they save us much more money than they do. But it stands to reason that buying and selling in large quantities ought to make possible a real saving in the final price.

The big mail order house, which does a very extensive business in both city and country, sometimes buys up the entire stock of a factory. Then it can print in its big catalog prices that seem very much more favorable than those which a person would pay in the store nearest home. When you come to add to this price the cost of transporting the goods by freight or express and the possibility of not getting exactly what you expected, the mail order bargains are not always so great as they look in the catalog. The "home store" proprietor declares that he is rendering you a service in having the goods where you can look at them, which the mail order man cannot possibly render, and that he is keeping up business and advancing the prosperity of his town and yours. He maintains that you ought to buy from him even though you may have to pay him somewhat more.

Still another attempted remedy is the *coöperative* store. Coöperative stores are common in Great Britain and on the continent of Europe, but they have not made much headway in American cities. In some of our farming districts coöperative associations are rather popular, and laws have been passed both by Congress and by some of the states to encourage the formation of coöperative societies.

The idea back of the coöperative association is that a large number of people who are interested in either buying or selling certain goods shall form an association and engage some one, perhaps one of their own number, to manage its affairs. Then, if they are a buying association, they will deal directly with the original producers of goods and thus obtain wholesale

prices. They will allow the members of the association to get the benefit of this reduced cost. Coöperative sellers' associations, like the California Fruit Growers, or the milk dealers who ship large quantities of milk to our large cities, employ people to handle the shipment of the products of the members of the association. In this way they get favorable terms from the railroads and can deal directly with the merchants of distant communities.

It seems as if Americans could advantageously make more use of the coöperative idea than they do. But the tempting " bargains " of the five-and-ten-cent store and the department

Courtesy Department of Agriculture

PLOWING AS IT USED TO BE DONE

store attract the attention of the city buyer, and the general notion of Americans that everybody should look out for himself causes them to go on in the same old way, doing nothing except finding fault with the high cost of living.

What is your opinion of "scientific management"? Is it good for the worker? How? What do you think of chain stores? Do mail order houses provide as high quality of goods as the local stores? Is money wasted in advertising? Which does the most good, window display, circulars sent through the mail, or newspaper advertising?

Mention some features of the management or operation of a business in which inefficiency might readily occur. Give some examples of any which you have noticed, telling how they were or might be corrected.

151. Farming, Old and New. — There is no sound reason why we should think of the farmer in any greatly different way from our thought of the business man in any other industry. Farming must be a business if it is to be successful. Working a farm cannot be the last resort of a person who has

Plowing as It Is Today on a Large Farm

failed at everything else. There have been as great advances in the methods of farming as there have been in mining, milling, or manufacturing.

Most of those changes have come within a century. People in the time of George Washington and of Julius Cæsar plowed in about the same way. The old style plowing meant not much more than scratching the surface of the ground. Now gasoline-driven tractors turn over many furrows at a time just as deeply as we care to have them turned. Mowing or harvesting hay or grain was once done by hand with the help

of a sickle or a scythe. Now the reaper, thresher, and binder cut down the stalks and finally throw out the grain all sacked, ready to ship. The modern farmer must expend much more for capital in the way of good machinery, tools, and seed than the farmer of the old days ever thought of. He does things in faster time. It is hard to imagine a slower animal than the ox, yet the "patient ox" was once the general type of the farm animal. Now the tractor goes almost everywhere an ox could go, and much quicker.

There has been great improvement, too, in the cultivation of the soil. Once the three-field system was common, in

Courtesy International Harvester Co.

PRESENT–DAY HARVESTING ON A BIG WESTERN FARM

which the land was divided into strips and one strip allowed to lie uncultivated for a season so that it might renew its strength after being worked for a while. Now we do not let a strip lie idle, but we plant some crop that will take out of the soil different elements from those that were taken by the crop before, or will put into the soil elements which the other crop had taken out.

Now we believe that a college education of the right sort will do a farmer just as much good as it will do anybody else. The more a person knows about the chemistry of plants and soils,

the better he can make use of the ground he has to work and the crops that will grow in the region where he lives. The work done at experiment stations conducted under the state or national government is of very great value in helping the farmer to plan his crops wisely.

Further, agriculture is no longer carried on simply as a means of keeping people alive. It is specifically conducted as a business. As it has been expressed, "Commercial agriculture is taking the place of self-sufficing agriculture." There are many kinds of farming. The general farmer may raise almost anything from lima beans to wheat or hogs. The special crop farmer will devote his entire time to wheat or grapes or some other one product. Another farmer is distinctly a cattle raiser. The cows and oxen that he raises are sold for meat. Still another is a dairyman. He keeps cows, but mainly for the purpose of selling their milk. Besides these we have the fruit-growing farmer and the market-gardener. Today one can specialize in farming just as truly as he can specialize in a particular type of factory. Management in all its phases means as much to him as to the proprietor of a steel mill, even if he must do the managing in a different way.

Is there any sense in or excuse for calling a farmer a "moss back" or a "rube"? What kinds of farming are carried on in or near your neighborhood? Are they scientifically administered?

Financial success in any occupation usually depends on good management. Three types of organization are common — the single proprietorship, the partnership, and the corporation. Combinations of corporations into trusts have been undertaken, but not always successfully. Large scale production and the factory system have revolutionized every enterprise, the farm included. Honest financing, wise management, and coöperation in buying or selling would seem to be fundamental ideas in sound business, but they are, to say the least, no more common than they should be.

SPECIAL TOPICS

Capital in Our Business.
The Mail Order House — A Detriment or a Blessing?
The United States Steel Corporation.
"Trust-Busting" and Why.
The 57 Varieties.
Scientific Management.
The Woolworth Stores.
Farming at Mount Vernon in 1795.
Farming in North Dakota in 1925.
The Soil and the Crops.

Valuable special studies may be made, especially in cities and towns, of topics like the following. Wherever possible a visit should be made to the establishment to be studied.

Some classes may find it wise to postpone consideration of these studies until some or all of the topics on Chapters XX and XXIII have been taken up.

A Successful Factory:
Plant — location, construction, advantages, disadvantages, branches; departments; divisions of departments; methods of dealing with employees — hiring, system of payment, promotion, employees' participation in administration, etc.; purchasing raw material and supplies; making investigations and studying for improvements; methods of advertising; dealing with customers; sales agencies; etc.

A Modern Department Store:
Organization — departments, managers, "overhead" operation; building — location, construction, equipment; employees — hiring, salary, provisions for comfort, etc., relations with management; buying goods — sources, buyers, dealings with producers, standard and special goods; dealings with customers — accounts, handling cash, delivery of goods, complaints; advertising; "bargain" and special sales; etc.

A Country or Small-Town Store:
Difference from big city store; location, building, equipment; special opportunities for trade; buying goods — local producers, the "drummer" or "runner," relations with jobbers, wholesalers and original producers; problems of stock keeping, accounting, etc.; employees; customers — charge accounts *vs.* cash payments, supplying demands, meeting complaints, etc.; competition with large city stores, mail order houses, etc.; advertising — does it pay?

In rural schools such topics as the following may be studied in considerable detail by the use of pamphlets and bulletins obtained from the national Department of Agriculture or that of your state:

Our State Agricultural College.
Our State Department of Agriculture.
The National Department of Agriculture.
The Work of Agricultural Experiment Stations.
Recent Improvements in Farming in Our Neighborhood.
Animal and Plant Diseases.
Clubs and Societies for Country Boys and Girls.
Rural Coöperative Marketing.
Farmers' Problems during the Great War.
The Best Kinds of Farming for Our Neighborhood.
A Farmer's Yearly Program.

READINGS

Lessons in Community and National Life, A–7, A–21, A–25, B–6.
Marshall and Lyon — Our Economic Organization, Chapter 9.
Carver — Elementary Economics, Chapter 12.
Carlton — Elementary Economics, Chapters 11, 20.
Leavitt and Brown — Elementary Social Science, Chapters 4, 6.
Burch — American Economic Life, Chapters 19, 20, 26, 27, 31.
Thompson — Elementary Economics, Chapters 10, 13.
Gillette — Constructive Rural Sociology, Chapters 9, 14.

CHAPTER XX

BUSINESS AND THE PUBLIC

"Property has its duties as well as its rights." — Drummond.

152. What Makes Goods Desirable? — We want things not just for the sake of having them, but because they satisfy some desire. The qualities in any commodity that satisfy our wants we call *utilities*.

There are several kinds of utilities. *Time* utility exists if we have a thing *when* it will do us some good. *Place* utility exists if we have the thing *where* it will do us some good. *Form* utility exists if a thing has been *shaped* so that it will be more useful to us. The tree in the forest has neither time, place, nor form utility to the person who wants a table. It has to be given all those utilities before it can serve the housekeeper in her kitchen or the reader in his library.

Two other kinds of utilities are often mentioned by economists. They speak of *possession* utility as the quality which results from our holding or occupying something. A house may have time, form, and place utility, but until we add to it possession utility by purchasing or renting it, we are getting no good from it. *Natural* utility is that quality which exists in the thing itself and is not put there by man. A skillful workman may produce something that looks like an apple, and may present it to us when we are hungry and where we could eat something, but it is only the real apple that would satisfy our hunger, and not an imitation. The real apple has a natural utility that the make-believe can never obtain.

You remember that we defined production as the preparing of goods to satisfy wants. If we wish to make over our definition, we may say that production is the giving of utilities to economic goods. Any activity that puts any of these utilities into the things we use is a form of production.

Another word we often use in speaking of commodities is *value*. By value we mean the worth of anything to its pos-

sessor. Value may be of two kinds. Value *in use* is the worth of anything directly to satisfy our wants. Value *in exchange* is the worth of anything as a means of obtaining some other goods. Some things may have a very high value in use, such as the school pencil with which you may write, or water which you may drink, and have almost no value in exchange. Other things, like money and bank checks, have almost no value in use except as paper weights or book marks, but may have a high exchange value by reason of what we can obtain with them. So the various utilities that exist in any commodity give it value, and the extent to which we value the commodity determines how much we are willing to sacrifice in order to get it.

Mention five more things which are very useful in themselves, but which you could not trade. Mention five things which are very useful and which you could trade.

153. What the Public Pays. — The public pays, you may say, whatever somebody asks in order to permit it to get the article. But on the other hand the seller asks only what he thinks some one is willing to pay. The *price* of any article is therefore its exchange value expressed in terms of money. We compare other things with a dollar and really measure them by the dollar. A hat that is priced at $5 is reckoned as being worth five times as much as, for example, a certain necktie. In order to obtain the hat, we must pay $5 to the merchant. The merchant does not want the $5, except for the fact that he can exchange it for more goods on which he can make a profit, or for something which he can personally use. The man who pays $5 for a hat may think he is paying too much, but to him a covering for his head is of more importance than even the $5. Both parties to the trade think that they are better off by reason of it.

What does "$5 value" mean, as it is often used in advertisements? Under what conditions might you regret the purchase of the $5 hat mentioned above?

Some goods sell at a considerably higher figure at certain times than at others. The particular figure which some article brings at any time is its *market* price. The general average of its price for a fairly long period we call its *normal* price. The market price may rise above or fall below the normal price in any week or month, and may not exactly agree with the normal price very often. Now what causes prices to waver in this way from day to day or month to month?

(1) Over long periods the prices of all commodities may rise or fall in accordance with the amount of money in circulation. If there is a large amount of money in circulation, whether it is gold eagles or paper rubles, the holder of a bushel of potatoes will want a larger quantity of this money than when the total amount of money obtainable is small. Particularly if gold is more abundant this year than it was ten years ago, the chances are that the general run of prices will be higher than they were at that time.

(2) The original cost of producing goods and the expense of marketing them affect directly their price to the consumer (§ 154).

(3) The general relations of supply and demand also have much bearing upon price. *Supply* is the amount of a commodity available for use at any given time. The coal which may be hidden deep within our mountains and which no one has yet worked cannot be considered as a part of our country's coal supply. The coal, however, which is mined daily in this country does make up our supply, for it is available for use when needed by the people, and comparatively little work is needed to put it where they can burn it.

By *demand* we mean not only the desire for a certain article but also the ability to gratify the desire. The poor man may desire with all his heart to possess a Cadillac, but his desire alone cannot influence the supply of automobiles. He must have something which the seller will accept, to give in exchange for it. In other words his demand must be effective.

If people have produced an enormous quantity of wheat or

potatoes they are likely to accept a much lower figure per bushel than they would if there were not so many bushels obtainable, and usually they will take what they can get rather than take nothing at all. And the more bushels there are for people to buy, the less need is there for the buyer to get his wheat or potatoes from any one particular seller. On the

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THE FINANCIAL HEART OF AMERICA

In the immediate foreground is the United States Custom House. The famous Broadway stretches out through the center of the picture. The second small building on the right of Broadway is No. 26, the headquarters of the Standard Oil Company. The tallest tower is that of the Woolworth Building.

other hand, if the supply of wheat or potatoes or anything else is limited and people want wheat or potatoes for food, they will pay almost any price within reason to obtain it. So an abundant supply causes price to go down; extensive demand causes price to go up.

The thing works the other way too. When prices go down, people will buy things who could do without them if they cost more. And if the prices of certain things advance, people

will deny themselves the pleasure of having those things, though they might purchase them at a lower figure. So these principles of supply and demand are constantly working back and forth and, in the case of some products, causing their price to fluctuate considerably. Commodities which can be produced in reasonably steady amounts the year round are far less likely to show such variations than such commodities, like strawberries and tomatoes, that come on the market in small amounts in certain parts of the year and in large amounts at other times.

(4) Prices sometimes are raised beyond the point where they would otherwise settle because the producer has a monopoly of the goods (§ 155) — that is, he controls so much of their production or sale that he can set a price higher than he would dare to ask if he had to meet serious competition.

Under what circumstances, if at all, would you be willing to pay one dollar a pound for sugar, flour, ice, beans, butter? Why? Make a list of ten common articles whose price changes little. Explain why in each case. What influences would cause you to buy a razor, fountain pen, camera, or newspaper? How much would you be willing to pay for any of these, and why? Salt is extensively used and is cheap. Why is this? Why are diamonds expensive?

It may be well right here to observe that the amount of a person's salary or wages does not always determine how many of the good things of life he can have. That matter is settled by the general standard of prices. Wages of $1000 a year in 1900 would buy almost twice as much as that sum will enable a person to get today. The amount in dollars that a person receives constitutes his *money* wages. The money cost of the goods he can get is his *real* wages. When the prices of things in general are going up, there is a tendency for money wages also to increase, but very seldom as fast as the prices. Especially is this true of people who are paid a fixed salary a year or who are trying to live on a fixed income from some investment. They are the ones who are pinched worst when there is a period of high prices.

154. What the Public Pays For. — Into the cost of everything enter the three fundamental factors in production.

We pay for whatever factor or element helps to put into goods the utilities that enable them to satisfy our wants.

For whatever land or raw material is used the owner or holder of that material expects to be compensated. This compensation is called by economists *rent*. We must be careful to distinguish this use of the word from the sense in which we speak of "house rent," for instance. In that case the "rent" includes some compensation for the capital invested by the owner as well as for the use of land. As natural resources are more and more diminished or brought under private control we have to pay more and more for the use of those which we need.

It certainly is fair that we should pay the workingman for his toil. This pay we call *wages*. It is only by his labor that he can get enough to keep himself and his family. We ought to pay him, and pay him enough to permit him to live comfortably. The more skilled he is, the more he will think he ought to receive as wages. And the more educated he is, the less willing is he to submit to undesirable conditions of work and standards of pay that once he accepted without question.

Further, the person who has capital which he has saved or inherited has the choice of spending it for his own pleasure or using it in industry. If he deprives himself of the pleasure of spending it, he will ask something for the privilege of using it. This compensation is what we call *interest*. We must expect to pay reasonably for this.

If we think of management as a fourth factor in production, we open the way for an additional element of cost. The manager demands returns for the risks he takes and for his own time and thought and effort. These returns are called *profits*. Sometimes a person is in a position to demand very much more for his supposed services in management than he really contributes toward making a commodity useful. This is the kind of person whom we call a profiteer.

Into the original production of the article, then, all these elements may enter, and we must expect to pay the cost of

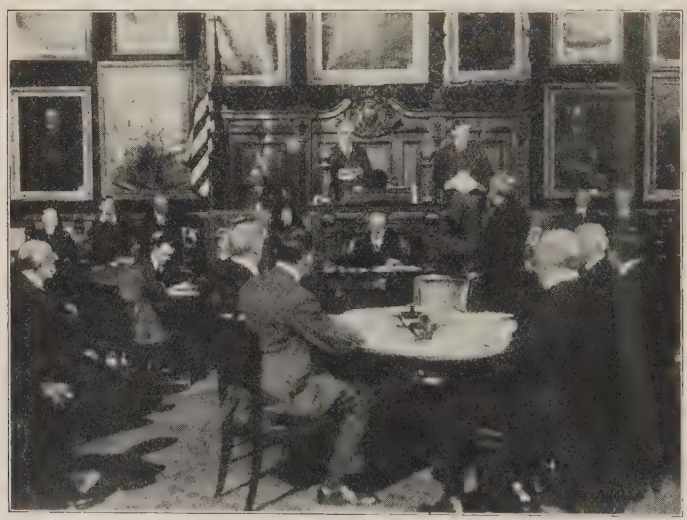
supplying them. But since so many goods are originally produced in places where people cannot possibly use them, they must be carried from one place to another, and this added cost of transportation sometimes cuts a big figure in the final price. All the people who buy and sell or handle the goods anywhere from the place of their original production to their final sale demand some compensation. In an investigation a few years ago into the cost of making shoes, the Federal Trade Commission discovered that at least five classes of people made a profit — the cattle dealer, the tanner, the manufacturer, the wholesaler, and the retailer. The profits of the cattle dealer and the tanner were passed on to the manufacturer, and by him to the others; and frequently later dealers used these earlier profits as an excuse for raising their prices to an unreasonable point. Think of all the correspondence, store rents, delivery trucks, advertising, and dozens of other little things which are not done for nothing, and you can discover some of the reasons why you pay what you do for the things that you buy.

There is also an economic waste when a great many people engage in making or selling the same thing in the same neighborhood. Six or eight different milkmen sell milk in the same part of the city. It would not cost very much more for one salesman or milk dealer to serve all the people in a district than it does for him to visit those who actually do business with him. The wages or salaries paid to all who are engaged in this kind of work help to raise the cost of the product to the persons who finally use it. It is often unreasonable to blame any one person for a system so wasteful of time, energy, and money, but the public pays the cost of it.

Can any of these items that enter into cost be dispensed with? Make a list of the different elements of expense that entered into the cost of this book. Can you estimate what it would cost one man if he tried to make it all himself? Does the fact that we could not make things ourselves for even the high prices which we sometimes have to pay justify the producers of them in demanding more than a fair profit for themselves?

155. The Services of Big Business. — This is the age of big things. We talk in billions almost as readily as we once talked in thousands. The big man or the big thing is what always attracts the attention of the public. And yet " big business " is a phrase that to some people carries an unpleasant suggestion. To them the big business man seems to have made his wealth by cheating or destroying his rivals or demanding outrageous prices for what he has to sell.

Much of this hostility to big business is unreasonable. If it were not for the men who have great wealth or can bring it



International

IN THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, NEW YORK

On this occasion representatives of the states of New York and New Jersey had met to sign an agreement for the joint supervision of the water used for commercial purposes by both states.

together, the great enterprises of the country which produce so many of the things on which we depend for life could not be carried on. Our wonderful railroad systems would be impossible if they had to be constructed by people who possessed only a small amount of wealth. The meat packers who have

so often been the object of harsh criticism and dislike have rendered services that could never have been performed by the old-time butcher or meat dealer.

The extensive business done by men and corporations possessing great wealth is a force that helps to keep the country stable. Wealth is never safe when disorder is present. The very fact that fortunes accumulate makes the holders of these fortunes much interested in maintaining law and order.

Men of wealth, too, are the ones who are expected, largely, to finance great charitable enterprises, to give large sums for putting up hospitals and supporting colleges and relieving the needy in Asia Minor or India or Russia or in our own country.

An Example of Public Welfare Work by a Great Corporation

The tendency of big business is toward *monopoly* — to secure such a control over the production or sale of a commodity as to prevent any effective competition. Yet even the monopolist renders the public some service. He can cut down the cost of producing and selling his goods and make the price lower and more uniform. It is often far more convenient to have a certain service or product provided by one source alone.

Perhaps you have discovered for yourself how inconvenient it is to have two or three street car companies in one city which

will not transfer from one line to another without charge. The total cost of operating two or three companies in the same neighborhood will be far greater than the cost of operating one system alone which would render virtually the same service. You may yourself have been disgusted sometime when you tried to call some one on the telephone and found that he was on a different company's line.

Have big business interests or wealthy men ever done anything for your community that would not otherwise have been done? There are communities, such as the "iron" towns of Minnesota, where almost all the taxes are paid by one or two corporations. Is this fair?

156. Monopolies. — Monopolies do not always arise from the same source. We will group them under five heads: government monopolies, private legal monopolies, monopolies of situation, monopolies of organization, and personal monopolies.

(1) In our country the post office is the best example of a *government* monopoly. Uncle Sam takes complete charge of it himself and sees that he has no competitors. Italy controls the sale of salt to the people, and some countries, such as New Zealand and Prussia, operate their railroads entirely. Private individuals are forbidden to engage in these enterprises in such countries.

(2) *Private legal* monopolies are granted by governments in the form of patents, copyrights, or franchises, good only for a limited time. It is only right that a person who has made an invention or has done something else just as worthy should get a reward of some kind, and so we permit him to control his product for a certain length of time.

(Look up and explain *patents*, *copyrights*, and *trade-marks*.)

(3) We have also monopolies of *situation*, which result from controlling the only location where a business can be carried on successfully. A railroad company may possess a certain stretch of land or mountain pass peculiarly suitable for a train route in that section of the country. By owning this most favorable location, the company excludes competition and enjoys a real monopoly.

(4) A monopoly of *organization* is formed when all those who are engaged in a certain business are brought together into a union of some kind. Many labor unions of today are good examples of such an organization. By banding together, the workers are able

to control the supply of labor and exercise an influence which otherwise would be impossible. The trust is also an example of this kind of monopoly.

(5) Another form of monopoly, which is not so likely to be dangerous as some of the others, is known as *personal*. Such a monopoly exists when an individual is the only one in his community who engages in a certain activity. The people then must either accept his services or do without. The doctor, the photographer, or the blacksmith in a small country town may enjoy this kind of monopoly. But since they must do reasonably good work in order to prevent somebody else from coming in and getting the business away from them, the public interest commonly does not suffer greatly.

The objection is often raised that monopolists do not reduce the price of their goods as much as they could, but charge as much as they dare to. Quite likely! The monopolist aims to charge just as much as he can without making it possible for others to come into the business, while at the same time he keeps the price low enough so that people will not be encouraged to quit using his product. The Standard Oil Company, for example, reduced the price of kerosene oil far below what it was before the company was formed, but no one will assert that they put the price as low as they could have done and still have made a reasonable profit.

The monopolist is out for the greatest profit he can make. If he can make a bigger profit by selling more goods at a low price than a small amount at a high price, he is hurting himself if he charges an unreasonable figure. If a soap maker finds that by selling his soap at ten cents a cake he can sell so many more cakes that his profits are greater than he would obtain from the number of cakes he could sell for twenty cents apiece, he will fix his price at ten cents rather than at twenty. It would probably cost him much less per cake to make 100,000 cakes than 20,000. The more he sells, the less, probably, will be the cost of production per cake and the greater his total profits.

With most commodities there exists the power of *substitution*. Unless a thing is a vital necessity, people will not use it

when it is very expensive, but will take something else in its place. Many people will use oleomargarine when the price of butter is too high, and the domestic science experts tell us it is just as healthful. Moreover, if the monopolist raises the price of his goods too high, then in spite of his large scale business *competitors* will probably come into the field and his monopoly may disappear. So if a monopolist has no regard for the welfare of people in general, his own selfish interests will usually restrain him from charging outrageous prices.

If he is in a position to act unreasonably, however, there still remains the possibility that the *government* may exercise its *police power* to protect the health and life of its people and put a restraint upon the prices he charges, as it has already done in the case of the railroads. Any giant, however well disposed toward the pygmies he looks down upon, carries with him dangers because of his mere bigness. If the monopolist is producing one of the necessities of life, he holds in his hands the power even of life and death over thousands and perhaps millions of people. By all odds such monopolies should be enjoyed only by the government itself or so strictly supervised by the government that the monopolist shall be prevented from robbing the people in order to fill his own pockets.

Big business has come to stay. If it is kept under proper control it can render still more service to the public than it has already performed. In saying this we do not mean that competition is not good. If conducted in a fair and honorable way, it is true, as the old saying ran, that "Competition is the life of trade." But too often competition has meant little more than the crushing of the weaker by the stronger. Besides, from the public's viewpoint competition itself may mean higher cost of producing goods and higher prices. To determine wisely when big business rather than small, or monopoly rather than competition, will best serve the public is not at all easy. Yet that is one thing our governments must do if they are to serve us well under present conditions. But unrestrained monopoly is always to be dreaded and prevented.

Monopolies are sometimes classified as industrial, franchise, labor, public, and natural. What sort of activities might be included under each of these heads? Do small-scale monopolies exist, except personal monopolies? Are monopolies likely to become more or less numerous as time goes on? Is there such a thing as absolutely *free competition?* Of the different kinds of monopoly which in general do you consider the most dangerous?

157. Controlling the Railroads. — The first efforts of our governments, state or national, at controlling big business were directed mainly at the railroads. When it appeared that railroads were going to be really practicable, both state and local governments were very generous in dealing with them. Charters and franchises were given on very liberal terms and without requiring much in return. When the great far-western railroads were planned, the national government presented them with millions of acres of land. Much of this was used to lay tracks upon and to put up the necessary buildings; but some of it was disposed of to settlers, and in some cases fraud and dishonesty occurred in the handling of it.

After the people had learned to depend on railroads and the railroads had found out how important they were, some of the roads were guilty of inexcusable and unjust practices. A road could ruin or build up any town by charging high or low rates for carrying goods to and from the place. For instance, just for illustration, a road might charge more for carrying a ton of freight for the " short haul " from Buffalo to Erie than for the " long haul " from Buffalo to Cleveland. It could make specially low rates to some shippers who sent goods over it, or return part of the charges as a " rebate," and thus give them an unfair advantage over their rivals. It could use the money and other power which it possessed to buy the votes of members of state legislatures so that these bodies would pass laws for the special benefit of the roads.

We might expect that some roads would reduce their rate in order to compete with other roads. So that they could avoid doing this, several roads which were in the same section of the country might make an agreement by which they

would all charge the same rate. They would agree that each road would carry the amount of freight which came to it naturally, and divide the total receipts of all the roads for a year in accordance with a proportion fixed beforehand. This practice is known as *pooling*.

When people found out these things, they were much dissatisfied. A strong demand arose that laws should be passed to stop such performances. For several reasons it seemed entirely proper for the railroads to be subject to special laws:

(1) Some roads had been specially helped by government loans or grants of money and land. (2) Many railroads were practically monopolies and could not be safely left uncontrolled. (3) Railroads were "common carriers," and were supposed to carry goods and passengers on the same basis for everybody. (4) The roads were often given the right of "eminent domain" (§ 299), which might be exercised in such a way as to affect the rights of private citizens.

In several states the "Grangers" and other dissatisfied people brought about the passage of state laws forbidding some of the objectionable practices. The supervision of railroads by the states really begins with this movement. It is now developed so that we find in practically every state some sort of regulation. Sometimes there is a separate Railroad Commission and sometimes a Public Utilities Commission or Public Service Commission which supervises gas companies, electric light companies, and similar corporations as well as railroads.

But state legislation in regard to railroads does not reach far enough. Every big road runs in more than one state and therefore engages in interstate commerce. It finally became evident that in order to keep the railroads under proper restraint Congress must take some action. In 1887 it exercised its power in this direction for the first time by passing an Interstate Commerce Act. This act prohibited the unfair practices mentioned above and provided that the President

should appoint an Interstate Commerce Commission which should hear complaints against the roads and recommend what should be done about them.

The powers of the Commission were afterward enlarged greatly. It now has eleven members, who may not only hear complaints against roads but investigate without waiting for complaints. Any interstate rates charged by the roads — and by telegraph, telephone, express, and sleeping-car companies and oil pipe lines as well — must not go into effect until they have been approved by the Commission. These powers and others possessed by the Commission make it a very important body. The I. C. C., as the railroads call it, is not very popular with the railroads, but there is no question that the members of the Commission have been on the whole able men who have tried to do what was best for the roads and for the public. They have accomplished a great deal of good.

During the Great War President Wilson assumed control of the railroads under the powers given him by the Adamson Act, passed in 1916 when a railroad strike was threatened. It was necessary for the government to be able to have the roads under such control that it could do exactly as it pleased in carrying men, moving supplies, and the like. For a time some people wondered whether this government operation might not be permanent. But after the fighting was over the President and Congress decided that the time was not favorable to attempt government operation permanently, and so on March 1, 1920, the roads were given back to their former owners and managers.

At present the Esch-Cummins Act, which was signed on that date, regulates the government supervision of the railroads. This act gives the Interstate Commerce Commission the right to determine what is a fair rate of profit for the roads, and to allow the roads to charge high enough rates to furnish this profit. It also established a Railway Labor Board to consider questions of wages, hours of work, and the like, which might arise between the railroad managers and their employees and which they could not settle between themselves. The act was in many respects an experiment and many people object to several of its features.

We must remember that the railroads have rendered great service to our country. Railroads cannot be constructed

without money. Neither a railroad nor an individual can operate long on borrowed money, though borrowing sometimes helps. It may be good business to borrow money to make permanent improvements if the saving or extra profit that would come from the improvements is more than enough to pay interest on the bonds. The necessary income to pay for the running expenses, equipment, and repairs must come from the charges laid upon passengers and freight. As a rule, the freight business is much more profitable than the carrying of passengers.

Right here comes a very troublesome part of the railroad problem. People do not like to pay high fares or heavy freight charges. They want to ride or have their goods carried as cheaply as possible. Yet at the same time they complain if the roadbed is rough, if the cars are not comfortable, if the stations do not look attractive. Good management, it is true, will provide these things when careless management would not; but the best of managers cannot make something out of nothing.

Men are not going to operate the railroads for charity. If people are not willing to pay enough to enable the managers of the roads to operate the roads in good shape and make fair profit besides, there is only one other thing to do. That is for the government to take over the roads and operate them, and then lay taxes on the people to make up the loss that would result if low rates were charged.

Have you ever heard any complaints about the management or operation of the railroads of your community? Do people ever find fault with railroads when they have no right to do so? Is there any reason why railroad rates should be higher on shipments eastward than on shipments westward?

Do you know any people who own railroad stock? Try to find how many stockholders in the railroads there are in the country. Do you think they are willing to pay high fares on the railroads? Is it good business for a railroad to build expensive stations?

158. Restraining Big Business. — Like the railroads, the various other forms of big business operate in more than one

state. It is therefore hard to get enough states to pass laws alike to make any state control of business very effective. But how much can the national government do? Its authority over business is limited to that which can be derived from its control over commerce "with foreign nations and among the several states." This control has been very broadly interpreted.

Railroads were not the only offenders against the public welfare before we had such laws. Sometimes a railroad was forced by corporations or other wealthy shippers to give them special favors in the form of reduced rates or otherwise, lest the shippers' goods might be sent by another road. When trusts were formed, with the object of getting a monopoly of some product and crushing out competition, the only way to assure safety to the people was to have the national government exercise some authority.

The first national anti-trust law was the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890, which declared all combinations "in restraint of trade between the states" to be illegal. Almost no attention was paid to this act for several years. In Roosevelt's presidency prosecutions of several famous trusts were undertaken, notably the Standard Oil Company. Numerous extensions of power were granted to the Interstate Commerce Commission. The courts ordered the Standard Oil Company and the Tobacco Trust to be broken up.

Under Presidents Taft and Wilson the same policy was continued. In 1914 the Clayton Anti-Trust Act was passed. This law attempted to make the restrictions upon trusts somewhat more definite so that there could be no excuse for violating the law through not understanding it. To make difficult the prosecution of unions as trusts, labor was declared not to be a commodity. Not only "trusts," in the special sense of the word, and holding companies, but interlocking directorates also are now illegal. Yet it is hard to enforce some of these restrictions. Your personal friend may do almost as well as you yourself on a board of directors, and no law can

prevent directors of different concerns from meeting at dinners and on other occasions and talking over the policies they are going to follow.

People do not all agree as to the amount of good that has been accomplished by the anti-trust laws. The breaking up of the Standard Oil Trust did not seem to have any great effect upon the price of oil. It is evident that there are other things than trusts which cause high prices. President

A Great Industrial Plant

Roosevelt used to say that there may be good trusts and bad trusts. Undoubtedly most of us feel safer if our laws do impose some restraint upon bringing together great combinations of capital. Yet there is no sense in punishing a corporation merely because it does a big business.

In 1914 there was also created the Federal Trade Commission. This is a body of five persons, appointed by the President, who must not all be of one political party. They may inspect the business operations of large companies so as

to prevent the use of unfair methods. They have the power to order a corporation to stop a practice which they consider unjust. They may report to the Department of Justice corporations that, in their opinion, deserve to be prosecuted for violating the law. They may call for various kinds of reports from corporations, and make recommendations to Congress in regard to the problems which are under their jurisdiction. They have made a number of very extensive investigations into conditions in certain industries.

Should people who ship goods in large quantities be charged lower rates than those who do not? Is the principle any different from selling goods at "five cents apiece or fifty cents a dozen"?

When a dealer has bought a supply of goods to sell at retail, and the wholesale price goes up after he has the goods on hand, is he justified in raising the retail price on these goods? In some cases when big firms have been fined for profiteering, the newspapers have said absolutely nothing about it. Why was this? Was it right?

159. Business and the Government. — People have not always thought alike about the extent to which the government should interfere in or regulate business. In fact there are some people today who delight in the slogan " Less government in business."

The prevailing notion a century or more ago in regard to the relation of governments to industry was that known as the policy of *laissez-faire*, which may be translated freely, Let them alone. The teaching of the great economist Adam Smith, and the political views of our own Thomas Jefferson, were of this kind. " That government is best which governs least," was Jefferson's phrasing. The motive of these men was excellent — that each person should be unhindered in development along the lines that suited him best. But they seemed not to realize that their doctrine was the doctrine of the strongest, and that if some authority did not protect the weaker members of society, there was an end to the hope of their ever rising.

In place of this individualistic attitude, we now lay stress on the *social* duty of governments. See to it, we say, that

every one shall have an equal chance. If the exercise by one man or one corporation of entire freedom of action is going to promote the interests of the whole community, let him go ahead. But if entire freedom of action on his part deprives others of rights to which they are entitled, he must be restrained.

It is on this principle that we believe governments should say to the factory owner, You must keep your establishment clean and equip it with fire escapes, even if it does cost you something; and to the saloon keeper, If your business harms the community without giving it anything of importance in return, it must be closed up; and to the monopolist, If we allow you to enjoy this monopoly, we must have the privilege of supervising it so as to be sure that the people are helped and not hindered by it. The " police power " of the state — its right and duty to protect the life, the health, and the morals of its citizens — means more today than ever.

Some think that it ought to be possible for the government to determine the maximum price that should be charged for commodities in common use and to see that dealers do not go beyond this figure. During the War this was done in some cases. There are difficulties, however, in the way of government price-fixing. If it were adopted as a permanent policy, we might see prices made a political issue and people running for office on the promise to make bread cost only five cents a loaf. Usually the working out of the laws of supply and demand will do about all that could be safely undertaken through government price-fixing.

Undoubtedly, however, we should have laws which would punish severely the men who take an unfair advantage of the public and attempt to collect outrageous profits on the necessities of life. And very likely the government may help the people to get a square deal by having courageous and intelligent agents who will investigate matters and announce publicly the prices for commonly used articles which they consider reasonable.

The government is now actually in business itself with the post office and a few other enterprises. The *socialistic* theory urges that it should go much further, and assume the control of the coal mines, railroads, telegraphs, telephone, and other big industries. This problem we shall discuss a little later (§§ 201–203).

People want goods because of the *utilities* which they possess. Every element or person who helps to put utilities into goods receives some compensation, which appears in the *price* the public pays. We have to guard against the power of *monopolies*, lest they should force us to pay more than is right. Hence we have laws restraining railroads and forbidding *trusts*, in order to prevent them from becoming our masters. People do not agree as to the extent to which we should go in such supervision, but it is steadily increasing.

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Business Life of John D. Rockefeller, and the Standard Oil Company.

The United States Steel Corporation.

Resolved, that the maker of a patented article should be allowed to fix its retail price and define the conditions under which it may be used.

Resolved, that the Sherman Anti-Trust law should be repealed and instead the Federal Trade Commission be given full authority to control corporation activities.

Resolved, that the parcel post service in the national government should take over all the business now done by the express companies.

Resolved, that the national government should be given power to fix a maximum price for all food products.

The Control of Railroads in Our State.

The Interstate Commerce Commission.

READINGS

Lessons in Community and National Life, A–10, A–26, B–15, B–21, B–25, B–26, C–10, C–12, C–13, C–14.

Carlton — Elementary Economics, Chapters 9, 13.

Burch — American Economic Life, Chapters 18, 21, 22, 23.

Thompson — Elementary Economics, Chapters 11, 14, 20.

Haskin — American Government, Chapter 18.

Beard — American City Government, Chapter 7.

CONVENIENCES OF TRADE

CHAPTER XXI

MONEY AND ITS USES

"Trade it may help, society extend,
But lures the pirate, and corrupts the friend."
—Pope.

160. Why Men Trade. — Very few nations are so situated that from their own soil or industry alone they can supply everything they would like to have. It would be a most unusual person, too, who could look out for all his own needs even in the most favored country. If civilization means variety, and civilized people need many different things, they can get them only by trading with one another. If I have more of something than I want, and you have more of something else than you want; and if I want the thing which you have too much of and you want the thing I have too much of — then we can swap, and both of us will be pleased. Let us see what are some of the results produced by trade.

(1) It gives us a *variety of goods* to satisfy the wants of different people, as well as the many wants of each individual. (2) It gives people a *common interest*, since they have to make use of the products of one another's labor. For the same reason it holds together sections of a country which might otherwise feel that their interests were not alike. If the South, when the Civil War broke out, had been as closely bound to the North as the Northeast was to what was then called the Northwest, there might have been no war. (3) It promotes *world unity*. Trade is almost the one interest toward which all people act alike. Not even religion or learning, mighty though they are, has yet done so much to bind the world together and teach each part about the rest. (4) It produces a *sense of*

dependence in persons and in nations. We cannot sell unless there are people who will buy our goods. We cannot have many of the things we enjoy unless we can depend upon others and they depend

LOADING COFFEE AT SANTOS, BRAZIL

Coffee is the most important of our imports from South America. It is one of the commodities we cannot raise at home.

upon us. (5) It encourages people and neighborhoods in *doing the thing for which they are best fitted.*

A man who is engaged in the work he likes best is likely to make a greater success of it and approach perfection sooner than would otherwise be possible. Suppose a boy seeks to become a banker because his mother desires him to do so, while all the time he longs to be an architect. The financial world surely gains little, while architecture is deprived of one who

might have done much service in that field. The same principle holds good for communities. If the people of Pittsburgh had not long ago taken advantage of their great industrial facilities for making steel, think what the world would lack today.

This great principle is known as the *law of least social cost.* We may express it in this way: both individuals and communities get more done and do their work better if they are engaged in that work for which they are best suited. Of course this does not mean that we should never do anything which we dislike. Every one meets some unpleasant things which he must do.

In what respects is the world better off because of the occupations that the members of your family are engaged in? Has any one ever been bettered by what you have done yourself? If not, why not? Do all people who engage in trade do so for the reasons mentioned above? Do they realize any social duty or benefit connected with it? Is trade ever carried on for the purpose of getting rich at somebody else's expense?

161. What Money Does for Us. — The simplest kind of trade is called *barter* — swapping one thing directly for another. It still occurs when a boy trades a jack-knife for a bag of marbles or a farmer trades the eggs and butter from his farm for the sugar and coffee which a grocer has on hand. But how difficult this sort of trade must be when a dozen or a hundred different people have a hundred different things to trade! Man No. 1, who has a sheep to dispose of and wants some hens, may have to hunt a long time before he finds Man No. 50, who has hens to dispose of and wants a sheep.

To get around this difficulty, the easiest way is to have the community agree upon some one thing which everybody will take in exchange for his work or for the goods which he has to trade. Then he can give this same thing to another man when he gets what that man has to offer. Anything used for such a purpose may be called *money.* It may be defined as

meaning any material which people generally will accept as a convenience in making a trade.

Have you ever engaged in barter? Have you seen any one else do it? Was it easy to bring about the trade? Have you seen any "token" money issued by private firms? What objection would there be to using such money commonly?

Some people seem to think that nothing but money is needed in order to produce happiness. Yet money itself is useless for food, clothing, shelter, or education. It is one of the things whose value in *use* is almost zero. We want it for what we can get with it.

DENARIUS

This was the principal silver coin of the Romans. The word is translated penny in some versions of the New Testament.

We ought to think of money as we would think, for instance, of a railroad track — as a material thing which has a particular kind of service to perform. Money offers convenience which makes trade easier — in fact, we may almost say that it makes modern trade possible.

(1) It is a *medium of exchange*. That is, it will be accepted by a person who has something to dispose of, because with it he can get something that he wants, and because through its use it becomes unnecessary to bring people together to make exchange directly.

(2) It is a *measure of value* or basis of calculation. We estimate the value of everything else in comparison with a dollar, for example, and are thus enabled to compare the values of things with reference to some common standard. On this account we can make trades today and pay for the goods at a later time on the basis of what they are worth when the trade occurs.

(3) It *makes savings possible* on a much greater scale than could otherwise take place. A farmer who raises potatoes would have some trouble in preserving them for food in his old age, but by exchanging the potatoes for money he can keep the money or invest it in some way so that it will be ready to buy food or something else later on.

Can you add other uses of money that would not belong under any of these heads? Point out very definitely how money is of use to a factory worker, a farmer, a doctor, a grocer.

The various uses of money and the things which take the place of money make up that branch of our business life today which we call *exchange*. This concerns, you see, not the actual moving of goods from one place to another, but the conveniences by which it becomes possible for people to pay for goods which they have bought. The sellers of these goods may be people whom the buyers have never seen and who may live hundreds or thousands of miles away, as well as people with whom the buyer trades directly.

162. Materials That Are Good for Money. — A great many things have been used as money in different times and places. Skins, shells, salt, beads, and tobacco are some of them. But they all have some very evident disadvantages. For this purpose men finally came to use metals, the first of which was probably iron. Bronze and gold, which were good for adornment as well as for trade, were also used at an early date.[1]

WAMPUM

This was one of the first forms of currency in America. It was composed of small shell beads and was used by the Indians both for money and for ornaments.

Even with such materials there was much confusion. Men could not agree as to just how much any particular lump of iron or bronze ear-ring might be worth. An early step was to put the metal into the form of coins. This was probably done first in China. Then, in time, the kings or other rulers took into their hands the making of coins, since to allow everybody to make his own coins gave too much chance and temptation for dishonesty.

To make it less easy to imitate these coins, the ruler's picture or some other marks or words might be stamped on them. Then to hinder people from rubbing or trimming metal from the edges of the coins they were given the treat-

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[1] Our adjective *pecuniary* can be traced back to the Latin word *pecus*, meaning *cattle*, showing that the early Romans used cattle as money.

ment known as *milling*. When all this had been done, the modern coin had practically arrived.

Let us list the qualities which anything should possess in order to be suitable for money.

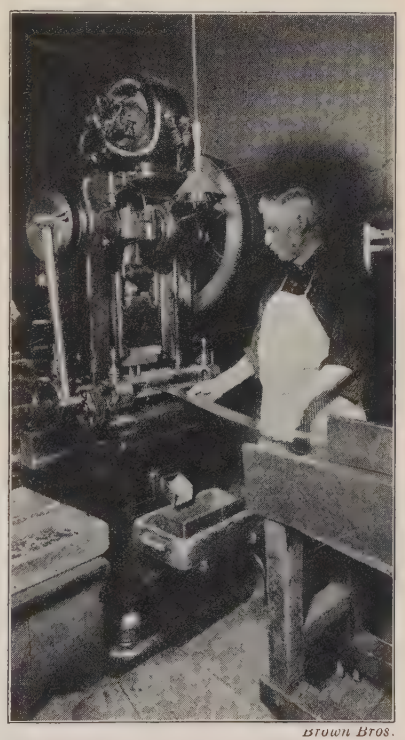
(1) It must be *durable*. A coin that would wear out easily could not be depended upon to be worth its supposed value for any length of time. Besides, such money would be unsuitable for savings.

(2) It must be *portable*. Money which is heavy and inconvenient to carry would be a nuisance in making trades, and might be only a little more advantageous than barter itself.

(3) It must be *divisible*, for we want to represent different values by coins of different sizes.

(4) It must be *recognizable*. It must not look too much like other materials; if it did, counterfeiters would have an easy time.

(5) It should be *valuable in itself*. On general principles we do not like to accept anything in return for our work or for something that we have made, unless we know from its qualities that we can get other people to accept it in exchange for the things that we want. In some respects this particular quality is more important in primitive communities than in places where settled habits in business and an orderly government have been established.



Brown Bros.

MAKING MONEY

This machine can punch out 450 twenty dollar gold pieces a minute.

What is the matter with iron, aluminum, platinum, tobacco, or mahogany as money? Do gold and silver possess all the desirable

qualities? Why do these metals serve as the basis of the money systems of the world?

163. Money the World Over. — Gold and silver form the basis of modern currency systems. The United States, as well as some other countries, has had trouble in deciding the proper relation between these two metals. When we fix by law a definite basis of comparison between gold and silver, and consider both metals standard, we call the system *bimetallism*. When we make one metal only — in our case, gold — the standard and use other metals simply for convenience, we have *monometallism*.

Weighing Foreign Gold Coins Presented at the Assay Office

For a long time we tried to maintain a ratio of 16 to 1 between gold and silver — that is, for purposes of coinage sixteen ounces of silver were considered about equal in value to one ounce of gold. In practice, however, it is only a little easier to keep a fixed ratio between gold and silver than between gold and potatoes. The value of silver on the general market kept going down in spite of several laws of Congress which sought to keep it from doing so. Finally we gave up the attempt. In 1900 Congress passed the gold standard act declaring the gold dollar alone to be the standard of our currency. Since then silver has been used in the same way that we use nickel or

copper, except that more different units of coinage are made out of it. And silver has come up again in price, after all!

Just now (1923) the American dollar is a sort of monarch among the coins of the world. The Great War affected the currency system of this country much less than that of any other great nation. Before the War, however, the English pound sterling, which was estimated usually as being worth about $4.86 in our money, was a sort of general standard of comparison for purposes of trade among nations, and among the moneys of the great European nations it suffered least from the War. France, Belgium, and Switzerland use the franc, worth normally a little over 19 cents, as the basis of their coinage. The mark of Germany was once reckoned as being worth 24 cents; the ruble of Russia, 51 cents; the yen of Japan, 49 cents. Many South American countries use the peso about as we use the dollar, and it is reckoned as worth about 96 cents in our money.

Some people have urged that an international money system should be established which would be usable in all civilized countries. Such a thing would certainly be a tremendous convenience to business. But it is hard to overcome long-standing habits of reckoning by pounds, francs, or whatever method is most familiar. It would probably be just as hard for many other countries to adopt our very convenient decimal system of money as it has been for us to accept the metric system of weights and measures, which seems so much more sensible and convenient than our own after one is familiar with it. Sometime, however, we may agree upon a system of currency that will be acceptable all over the world.

Why do you suppose we are so unwilling to adopt the metric system? Can you think of any objections to an international coinage system?

164. Good Money and Poor Money. — What makes money good or poor? Only this — will people take it or will they not? Anything that everybody is willing to accept is, for the time being, good money. But not everything that people may be willing to use temporarily is satisfactory for regular service.

Three facts seem to have considerable bearing upon this matter. (1) Good money must either have value in itself or be backed by something that makes people willing to take it. (2) The extent of people's confidence in the intentions or ability of a government to keep its word makes much difference in their willingness to accept the money it issues. (3) General business and social conditions affect considerably the exchange value of a country's money.

A Vermont Cent

From 1777 to 1791, the State of Vermont governed itself like an independent republic and issued its own coins. It gave authority to one man to make money for the state. Would you recommend such an arrangement as that?

Quite likely this question has occurred to you: How can we use paper for money if money must have value in itself? The big idea in regard to money is that we are willing to take things that are of no real value to us if we can get with them the things that we do want. If we know that we can exchange a piece of paper for gold or silver when we want the metals, we are usually very willing to accept the paper. A considerable part of our paper money is actually issued in place of gold or silver coins or bars which are kept in the United States Treasury.

But another considerable amount of our paper money does not actually have gold and silver to back it up. Some of it is really nothing but a promise on the part of our government that it will pay. If we believe that the government will keep its word, we will take its promise to do so and pass it from one to another as if it were the money itself. Some of the rest of our paper money would be made good, if necessary, by disposing of bonds, notes, and other forms of "credit instruments" which are in the possession of our banking institutions.

Some people, however, argue that all we need to do for money is to print it and say to the people by law that everybody must accept the paper which the government prints as if it were real money. The term *legal tender* is applied to money which the law commands us to accept, when it is offered to us in payment of a debt. One great difficulty that arises in the use of paper money is just this question of whether we shall

Brown Bros.

MAKING PAPER MONEY

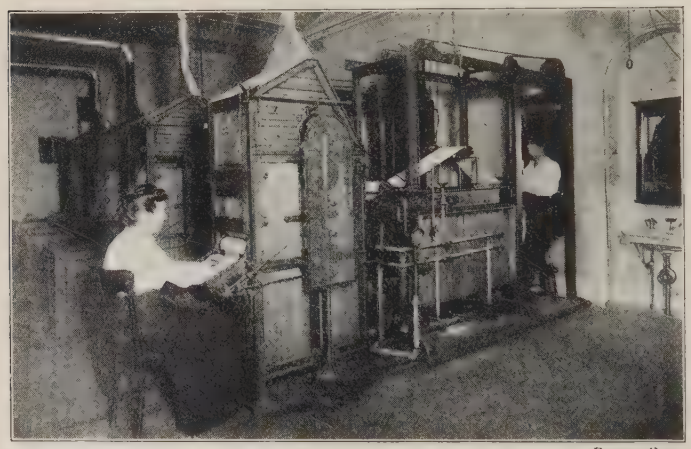
Bank notes, as shown in the picture, are printed in sheets. Here the sides of the sheets are being trimmed.

make it legal tender. Sometimes within our own country we will use such money as a matter of convenience when citizens of other countries would be wholly unwilling to take it in payment of what was due them. When a nation is in a bad way financially, it is subject to a dangerous temptation to print paper money by the carload. Sometimes, indeed, such money is all that can be had, if a country is in an exceptionally disordered condition.

There is a principle known as Gresham's Law which applies here. This declares that when two or more kinds of money are circulated in a country, the least valuable will tend to be used and the more valuable kinds will disappear. This happened

during our own Civil War, when people who had gold coin held on to it and our paper greenbacks would at one time buy only about forty per cent of what a corresponding amount of gold would purchase.

It is exceedingly important that our money or that of any other country should be as good as it pretends to be. Only a very serious emergency would ever justify any government in



Brown Bros.

WASHING PAPER MONEY

The girl at one end of the machine puts in dirty money and it comes out cleaned and ironed at the other end.

issuing money which it did not at the same time intend to redeem. But the German marks and the Russian rubles and the Austrian crowns which were printed by the billions during and after the Great War can never be much more than curios outside the countries where they were issued. Nobody will take them for money if he can get anything else.

From your knowledge of American history review the story of the Continental currency and what became of it. Find out what the Greenback party wanted. Can you imagine any circumstances under which it would be wise for us to have only paper money? Why do you suppose gold and silver money has been more popular

in our western states than paper money? Is United States money acceptable in Canada, and vice versa? Why?

165. The Money of the United States. — When our present Constitution went into operation, most of the money which our people used was either English or Spanish. Thomas Jefferson had, it is true, proposed our present coinage system as far back as 1784, but it did not get in working order for some

Brown Bros.

GOLD AND SILVER IN THE UNITED STATES TREASURY

This shows the way the coin and bullion is stored, when it is not needed in circulation.

time. The dollar was made the standard, and this was finally fixed by law as 23.22 grains of gold. All our other money is compared with this.

Our coins are made at a few great mints, in Philadelphia, New Orleans, San Francisco, and Denver. Strangely enough, the gold dollar, though it is the standard of our currency, is too small for convenience, and is not now coined at all. The gold coins which we now make are the quarter-eagle, half-eagle, eagle, and double-eagle — $2.50, $5, $10, and $20. We use silver for many coins —

dollars, half dollars, quarters, and dimes. We also have a great deal of use for the five-cent pieces, which are made of bronze and nickel, and the pennies, which are of bronze.

For money of the denominations of one dollar and upward, we use paper currency very extensively, especially in the East. Of this we have several varieties:

(1) *United States notes*, often called greenbacks. — These are nothing more than promises of the United States government to pay money. A certain amount of gold, called the gold reserve, is kept in the Treasury to pay these notes if coin is asked for them. But since this amount is not nearly as much as the total amount of the notes, there is really nothing but the credit of the government to make these good.

Melting Gold Coins

Foreign coins which have been received at the United States Assay Office in New York are being melted. They will appear again as gold bars or perhaps as United States gold coins.

(2) *National Bank notes.* — In order to issue these, national banks are obliged to own government bonds or something of similar character to serve as security for them. Because the next two kinds of paper money are used so extensively, national banks do not issue their own notes as much as formerly.

(3) *Federal Reserve notes.*

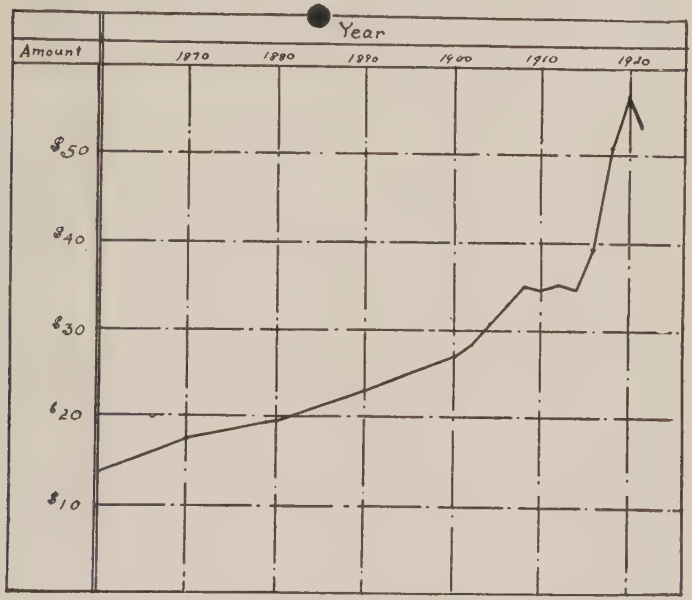
(4) *Federal Reserve Bank notes.* — These two kinds of money are issued under the laws establishing the Federal Reserve system (§ 174). They are made good by notes or other securities held by the Federal Reserve Banks. The Federal Reserve Bank notes bear the name of the Reserve Bank through which they are issued.

(5) *Gold certificates* and (6) *Silver certificates.* — These are backed up by coin or bullion held in the Treasury. Gold certificates are not now issued in denominations below $10.

Can you tell, by looking at a coin, where it was made?

Get samples of as many varieties of money as you can, both coin and paper. Study the paper money especially, and see how one kind differs from another.

The table on page 422 shows the amount of the different kinds of money in circulation in the United States on March 1, 1923, and the amount of each kind in circulation on January 1, 1879. Compare



THE CIRCULATION OF MONEY IN THE UNITED STATES

The line shows the change from year to year of the amount of money in circulation for each person in the country. Can you give any reason for the course it takes?

the relative importance of the various kinds at the two dates and see if you can explain the difference. Is there any reason why we should need so much more money per capita now than in 1879? Are we better off on that account? What is an "inflated" currency?

From some reference book find how many kinds of United States money are legal tender. If you owed a man $100, could you force him to take it in cents? in quarters? in silver dollars? in $2.50 pieces? in greenbacks? in Federal Reserve notes?

Kind of Money	Jan. 1, 1879	March 1, 1923
Gold coin and bullion	$96,262,850	$410,958,462
Gold Certificates	$21,189,280	$314,593,081
Standard Silver dollars	$5,790,721	$59,566,639
Silver Certificates	$413,360	$317,267,518
Subsidiary silver	$67,982,601	$241,086,562
Treasury Notes of 1890		$1,475,483
United States Notes	$310,288,511	$283,491,363
Federal Reserve Notes		$2,226,694,428
Federal Reserve Bank Notes		$29,981,087
National Bank Notes	$314,339,398	$725,522,045
Total	$816,266,721	$4,610,636,668
Estimated population of U. S.	48,231,000	110,796,000
Money in circulation per capita	$16.92	$41.61

Gold, Silver, and Paper Money in Circulation in the United States

Men find it to everybody's advantage to trade their products, rather than to force every person to produce everything he wants. Since barter is inconvenient, money is generally used as a medium of exchange. Some metals, such as gold and silver, are more suitable than other things for money. Paper money is acceptable if we can exchange it for real coin when we want to do so. Our own money system uses both coin and paper.

SPECIAL TOPICS

Our Mints and How They Are Managed.
The Bureau of Engraving and Printing.
The Currency Systems of Other Countries.
Money among Primitive Peoples.
The History of Coins.
Revolutionary Money and Civil War Money.

READINGS

Lessons in Community and National Life, A–23, C–21, C–22, C–23.
Marshall and Lyon — Our Economic Organization, Chapter 19.
Carver — Elementary Economics, Chapter 24.
Burch — American Economic Life, Chapter 34.
Thompson — Elementary Economics, Chapters 15, 16.
Haskin — American Government, Chapter 3.
Marriott — Uncle Sam's Business, Chapter 13.
Du Puy — Uncle Sam's Modern Miracles, Chapter 16.

CHAPTER XXII

CREDIT AND ITS SERVICES

"Good, the more communicated, the more abundant grows." — Milton.

166. Substitutes for Money. — Suppose your father wants to pay his milk bill. Quite possibly he sits down and writes some words on a printed form, signs his name to it, seals it in an envelope, and says to you as you go to school, "Be sure you mail this check." Perhaps you and your mother went to Rosenbaum's, where you saw a coat that you liked. She said to the clerk, "Charge it, please," and the delivery truck brought it to your house the next day. Everybody seemed to be satisfied. You got your milk or your coat and yet no one in your family paid a cent for either. How can this be?

Such dealings are possible simply because there has grown up in the civilized world a very extensive use of what we call credit. *Credit* means simply the giving or receiving of a promise to pay in place of actual money payment. We see it in very many forms. When we say of some one, "His credit is good," we mean that he has such a reputation for keeping his promises and paying his bills that people are willing to let him have goods simply on his promise that he will pay for them at some time in the future. This idea is at the bottom of the practice of many of the stores in permitting people to have a *charge account* or *book credit* with them.

Post office money orders, express money orders, traveler's checks, and the like, are other means by which one sends or accepts an order or a promise instead of actual cash. The credit instruments hereafter mentioned (§ 168) are also very extensive forms of substitutes for money.

Bonds and stocks are still other examples of credit certificates. They represent money that has been invested in some business or lent to responsible persons. They do not pass from one person to another as a substitute for money, however, so readily as checks, drafts, and the like.

167. Value of Credit. — With all the convenience which money affords, it would be embarrassing for any business man to be obliged to carry with him everywhere he went the money which he might need in his business transactions. Every private enterprise, as well as most activities of the government, employs credit. True, it is based on the existence of money, but money without credit might be even less useful than credit without money. In 95 per cent of the business transactions of today credit wholly or largely takes the place of actual money.

(1) It is wonderfully convenient. How awkward it would be if every one always had to carry with him coins enough to buy everything he wanted! Many large business deals would be almost impossible if this were necessary.

(2) It makes long-distance trade possible. Transactions between Philadelphia and San Francisco, New York and Shanghai, London and Boston, are about as easy as if they were made across the street. If it were not for the use of credit, commerce between people of different nations could hardly be on a basis much different from that of barter.

(3) It saves the use of the precious metals, gold and silver, so that they can be employed for other purposes.

(4) It enables governments and corporations and individuals to undertake great enterprises which could not be considered if the actual cash had to be in hand before the work was started. To carry on a war or construct the Panama Canal or lay out a railroad or run a department store would be out of the question today without the use of credit.

To what extent does your family make use of credit, either in business or in family matters? Why do stores often ask people to open charge accounts with them, when it always costs them something to carry such accounts?

168. Forms of Credit Instruments. — The common printed or written forms which are often used in the business world in

place of actual money are frequently called *credit instruments*.

One of the most common is the *promissory note*. This is nothing more than a promise that at a certain time or "on demand" a person or firm will pay a certain amount of money. Commonly such notes carry with them a promise to pay interest also. To make sure that he gets his money, the person in whose favor the note is made sometimes asks that some one else besides the one who owes the money shall "indorse" the note. Then this indorser can be called on for payment if the other person fails.

But often in making payment no real money is handed over. The *check* is only an order instructing a bank to pay a sum of money to some one. Unless I have some reason for thinking that the person who wrote the check does not do business with that bank, I will probably accept the check almost as readily as if it were cash, and sometimes perhaps more readily. By "indorsing" my name on the back, I can pass it on to some one else just as if it were money, provided that in this case he is willing to accept it.

Somewhat similar to the check is the *draft*. This is an order from a person or firm known as the "drawer" telling another person or firm, called the "drawee," to pay a sum of money to a third party, termed the "payee." The making of the draft assumes that the drawer and the drawee have business dealings with each other such as to warrant the transaction. Drafts are sometimes made payable some time after they are written. Banks often *discount* drafts and notes. That is, if a person who receives one of these wants his money at once, the bank will subtract from the full amount of the draft or note a sum equal to the interest on that amount up to the time when it is to be paid, and give the person the rest of it.

On the same principle as the draft is the *bill of exchange*. This is much used in dealing with foreign countries. It is somewhat more complicated in form, and is often made out in triplicate — that is, with three copies alike, to make sure that one arrives. Then when one of the three is paid the others become worthless.

A practice that has recently gained considerable favor is the use of the *trade acceptance*. This is an order to a person or firm that has bought goods, telling the buyer to pay to some bank at a specified time the price of this particular order of goods. When the buyer has "accepted" it by writing on the face of the order the necessary words and signing his name, the seller can take it to a bank and have it discounted the same as if it were a note. When the time comes for the payment to be made, the seller's bank makes a demand upon

the bank with which the buyer does business and the bank then charges the necessary amount against him on its books. In this way some convenience has been rendered to everybody concerned — except, perhaps, the banks, and probably no money at all has been used.

Try to get samples of cancelled checks and other forms of credit instruments and become familiar with their form and language. They are not always just alike. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of using any one of these in place of money.

169. Safeguarding the Use of Credit. — Credit is based on the idea that money exists and can be had if it is needed. If anything should happen so that any great number of people should at the same time demand real money instead of the various promises for it, an awful smash-up might occur. It is of great importance, therefore, that our system of credit shall be kept sound and healthy.

Like all good things credit may be abused. When a bank makes a loan to some one, for instance, it probably does not give him money but lets him write checks on that bank up to a certain amount, and makes him pay interest on it just as if he received the real money. If a bank makes too many credit loans which cannot be collected on short notice and then if something happens which calls for an unexpected use of money by the bank, it may have to close its doors until its affairs can be straightened.

Buying and selling stocks on a "margin," the issuing of watered stock by corporations, and other forms of high finance, are dangerous uses of the principle of credit. Stores which carry on charge accounts need to take care about the honesty and ability to pay of the people to whom these courtesies are rendered. There has developed a very valuable method of keeping tab on business firms with reference to this very matter. Certain agencies, commonly referred to as Dun's and Bradstreet's, make a business of finding out whether a firm or an individual pays his debts promptly. They rate business men and firms in different classes. If a business man has a high rating with Dun or Bradstreet, people are

usually willing to extend him credit. If he does not have such a rating, they usually insist that he shall pay cash for his purchases.

What conditions would you expect to exist with reference to any person or firm in order to permit them to gain a good standing financially? If a business man does not have a high rating in Bradstreet, does it necessarily follow that he is dishonest? Is it fair to an honest man to put him in one of the lower classes?

170. "**Hard Times.**" — There are about 1,800,000 business concerns in our country. In the decade from 1911 to 1921 business failures averaged a few over 14,000 a year. That means that less than one firm in a hundred is likely to fail in one year. Bradstreet's credit agency has investigated the most common causes of failures. About one-third are due to incompetent management, nearly another third to lack of sufficient capital, about one-seventh to general business conditions, and about one-fourteenth to fraud.

General business conditions have much to do with the prosperity of business men and corporations. Somehow or other we have had a panic or a period of hard times almost every twenty years. It surely seems as if this sort of thing is a disgrace to a civilized people, yet it is a fact that we may not deny. When such a period of hard times occurs, the number of business failures jumps up fearfully. Modern business relationships are so interwoven with one another that when one firm fails, several others may be ruined by its fall.

Now what causes this sort of thing? In any particular instance it is sometimes very hard to say. Political parties always assert that the other party which happens to be in power is to blame, but it is usually discovered that the conditions which contributed to the hard times had their beginning years before. The possession of power by one political party rather than another does not explain the situation at all.

Sometimes people get temporarily crazy over some new sort of investment. More than once it was western land; another time it was railroad construction. Sometimes several

forms of unwise investment have been going on at the same time.

When for any reason production is feverishly carried on there usually comes a reaction. At first there seems to be a great demand for goods. Prices go up, and producers hastily conclude that this is the time to enlarge their business. Then people begin to complain about high prices. After a little they stop buying. Producers who have overdone the matter find themselves with a stock of goods on their hands which they cannot dispose of. They are unwilling to sell at less than the goods cost. Because there is no more demand for their products they lay off their workmen. Men out of work cannot buy goods. Business then becomes slacker than ever, and people begin to wonder how it is all going to turn out.

Utilizing a Narrow Lot

Where land rents are high, people will build up instead of out. Sometimes city ordinances forbid the erection of buildings beyond a certain number of stories.

The one reassuring thing about the history of panics or business depressions in our country is that we have recovered from all of them, even though they caused serious suffering to many while they lasted. The production of commodities that are necessities of life must go on. As business picks up in those lines gradually it will spread to others. There are always

optimists among business men who are willing to take a chance on things improving. Such men, by conservatively starting their business activities anew, help to set the wheels of industry in motion again. It usually takes several years for a country to recover fully from a period of business depression.

A common idea now is that business conditions normally move in cycles and that we may expect certain changes to follow in a more or less regular order. If we can find out positively that this is so, then we can figure out in advance what ought to be done to keep the change going on from year to year with very little confusion. In other words, if we can discover what causes these cycles in business, we can pretty nearly get rid of their unpleasant features and keep things running smoothly and steadily all the time. This is a problem for you and the economists of the future to work out.

From your study of American history review the great panics or business depressions which we have had — what caused them (if the cause is reasonably sure), and how long it took to get over them.

Do you think the people themselves are ever to blame for hard times?

171. Keeping One's Word in Business. — The whole system of credit which we have been discussing rests on the supposition that people will usually do as they agree to do. In law and in business we hear a great deal about contracts. A *contract* is simply an agreement between two or more parties to do or not to do some particular thing. The law expects a contract to be held sacred, and assumes that a person will do everything in his power to carry out an agreement to which he has pledged himself.

Hardly anything is done in the business world that is not connected with the making or carrying out of a contract, expressed or implied. Deeds and mortgages are based upon contracts. When a person is engaged to work for another an implied contract to pay him is understood. A postal money order is an implied contract to pay the amount mentioned. Without the power of making contracts and the assurance that contracts would be kept, modern business would be impossible.

So important is the certainty that a contract will be executed that the national Constitution specifically forbids the states to pass any law "impairing the obligation of contracts." The Supreme Court has interpreted this word very broadly, too. In the famous Dartmouth College case it declared that the charter of a college is a contract. In the case of Fletcher *vs.* Peck it declared that land grants by a state legislature are contracts.

A contract cannot be enforced, however, if either of the parties is not legally entitled to make a contract. A person under twenty-one is considered by the law as a "minor" or "infant," and cannot make a binding contract, except for the necessaries of life.

Bankruptcy laws perhaps come the nearest of any laws to "impairing the obligations of contracts." A *bankrupt* is a person who has been legally declared unable to pay his debts. The national Constitution gives Congress the power to pass uniform bankruptcy laws, but that power was not in use except for two brief periods until the present law was passed in 1898. Meanwhile each state made its own laws to cover the matter.

A person who wishes to take advantage of the bankruptcy law must turn over all his property, with some few exemptions, and allow it to be applied to the payment of as large a part of his debts as it will meet. Then he will be allowed to start business anew. An honest man will feel bound to pay his old debts in full as soon as he is able to do so. Men have been known to abuse the privilege by going into bankruptcy when it was not necessary, and have even made money by doing so. But the object of the law is simply to give a new start to a person who has been unfortunate in business and is so hopelessly tied up that a new deal will be welcome to his creditors as well as to himself.

The whole business comes right down to this — keeping one's word. Unless we can depend on others to do what they say they will do and they can depend in the same way upon us, the only fellow who is safe is the one who is strong enough to force others to do as he tells them. To make a contract safe for the weak as well as for the strong, the state has its courts open to try those who are accused of breaking contracts, and its officers will add their own authority, if necessary, to see that a contract breaker is dealt with properly.

Find examples of as many different kinds of written contracts as possible. Are any penalties provided in case they are violated?

Would you ever justify one's breaking a contract? Why does the law not permit a minor to make a binding contract? How many kinds of influences may help to keep people true to their word? Is the Golden Rule desirable and possible in business? Show how keeping one's word applies to a person in any stage of business activity.

To use money for every trade would be exceedingly inconvenient. We therefore accept in many cases a promise to pay, which we call *credit*. It may take money forms. People sometimes abuse the privilege of credit, and when business conditions are seriously upset, a period of " panic " or " hard times " occurs. Business prosperity rests upon people's intentions and ability to keep their promises.

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Legal Standing of a Person under Age in Regard to Property and Contracts.

The Forms of Credit Instruments.

The Stock Exchange.

The New York Curb Market.

The Business of a Broker.

(The stock exchange has been mentioned earlier, but probably these topics will be better understood by the class after they have studied *credit*.)

Dun's and Bradstreet's Agencies.

How Stores Handle Charge Accounts.

Resolved, that a person who is not wealthy should refuse to indorse notes for another.

READINGS

Carver — Elementary Economics, Chapter 26.

Lessons in Community and National Life, A–17.

Burch — American Economic Life, Chapters 35, 36.

Gillette — Constructive Rural Sociology, Chapter 10.

CHAPTER XXIII

BANKS AND THE COMMUNITY

"Banks may be regarded as the lubricants of trade." — Laing.

172. What a Bank Is for. — We have mentioned banks several times, taking it for granted that you know that there are such institutions and that they have something to do with money and business. Upon the soundness of a country's banking system depends in great measure its business prosperity.

A *bank* has a charter like any corporation and is organized on about the same principle, for the purpose of receiving, keeping, and lending money and making possible the use of the various forms of credit. Its profits are paid in the forms of dividends to those who hold its stock.

A City Bank and Office Building

Years ago almost anybody who could get a person to trust him with some money might start a bank just as he might open a barber shop if he felt so disposed. But so much harm was done by bankers who were rascals or who lacked judgment that laws had to be passed to regulate them. For

many years banks were regulated or inspected only by the state government, and many banks today are chartered by the states. But in 1863 our present system of national banks was begun. Out of it has developed our great Federal Reserve System.

Banks which have been formed under the supervision of the national government, which own some of its bonds, and are inspected at irregular intervals by its agents, are called *national banks*. They have had the privilege also of issuing bank notes, based on the value of the national government bonds that they own, which have formed one of our common kinds of paper money. Congress has put such a high tax on bank notes issued by any other than national banks that all the profit which might come from the use of such notes is removed and these banks do not issue them.

Many private companies, commonly called *trust companies*, do a general banking business, and in addition make a special point of investing money or caring for the property of other persons. National banks are not allowed to do this or to lend money which they cannot collect on short notice. Be sure you do not confuse the "trust company" with another use of the word "trust."

Now what are the particular things which banks do?

(1) They receive, keep safe, and lend money. If it is left with them for any length of time, many banks pay interest on it. Of course they charge interest for any money that they lend.

(2) By collecting small savings from many people, banks make it possible, by lending these savings, to use them in large enterprises, where small savings would not count for much by themselves.

(3) They encourage the use of credit instruments such as checks, drafts, and the like. They themselves make a great deal of use of credit. Without their aid business men of today would be very greatly inconvenienced.

(4) In addition to receiving and lending money, banks may lend their credit. If a person borrows $2000 from a bank, it may simply credit him on its books with that sum and let him draw checks against it. Meanwhile it charges him interest on the $2000 which he has borrowed, though

it may not have actually handed him a cent in real money.

(5) Many banks have special savings departments, safe deposit vaults, real estate departments, and the like, and attend to various kinds of matters connected with money or property. Savings banks, as the name suggests, are established particularly for the purpose of receiving funds in small amounts and keeping them some little time.

What have the banks ever done for *you?* How much do any of your family make use of them? How did the banks help the government during the Great War? Do banks need to be regulated any more than other kinds of business?

173. How Banks Safeguard Their Business. — If a bank had to keep on hand all the money which was left in its care, and return this same money later to its owners, the banking business would be no different from what it was at the beginning. Then the banker's only profit was the charge he made for keeping the other man's money safe. But the banker today earns his profits by lending the money which is entrusted to him and getting more interest on it than he has to pay to the person who deposits it with him.

The banker has to be prepared to pay back the money which is entrusted to him. But experience has shown that only a small part of this is likely to be called for at any one time. Therefore, if the bank keeps on hand enough currency to meet any demand that is likely to be made, it can safely lend the rest of its deposits and get interest on them. The Federal Reserve Act requires some banks to keep at least 12% of their deposits as "reserves" where they can always get hold of them, others 15%, and others 18%. Part of this amount must be kept in the bank's own vaults, and part of it deposited with the Federal Reserve bank of its district.

In order to keep its reserves always at about the same point, the bank must arrange its loans so that they will be repaid at such times as will keep the bank's funds reasonably constant. Banks lend some of their funds on "call" — that is, so that they can demand that the amount be repaid whenever the bank asks for it.

The rest is largely lent on "short term" notes, which are due in 30, 60, or 90 days. Commercial banks cannot safely let much of their funds be out for a much longer time than that, though frequently when a note is due, the bank will permit it to be "renewed." Savings banks, however, often lend money on mortgages and in other ways which do not permit it to be collected on very short notice. That is why they reserve the right to require a depositor to give several days' or weeks' notice when he wishes to draw out a large sum.

Banks are careful, too, about the people to whom they make loans. They will not lend to a person who is not known to them or who does not have a good standing in his community. When a person gives them a promissory note, they often request him to have some other person "indorse" it, so that two persons instead of one may be liable for its payment. Sometimes a person receiving a loan from a bank is required to turn over to them something as "collateral." This may be bonds or some other "paper" that has a recognized financial value. Then if the loan is not repaid as it should be, the "collateral" may be sold and the bank thus assured of getting what is due to it.

In this connection be sure you understand the meaning of "two-name paper," "call notes," "short-term" and "long-term" paper. Under what circumstances do you think each of these forms of obligations would be most desirable, from the viewpoint of a bank and of a borrower? On which do you suppose the interest would generally be highest? What is meant by a "run" on a bank?

Find out how the postal savings system is operated. What other system of savings does the national government operate?

Do you have a school savings system? If not, why not? If you do, how does it operate? Of what good to banks are "thrift clubs" and the like?

Perhaps you have wondered what assurance one has if he puts his money in the bank that he is going to get it back. The chief reason is this — that nowhere is it more true than in the banking business that "Honesty is the best policy." No bank can do business very long unless people trust it, for if they do not have confidence in it they will not let it

have their money. In order to get money to lend, bankers must be square and honest themselves.

But since honest men sometimes make mistakes, and since once in a great while a dishonest man gets into a position of responsibility, there are laws passed by both state and national governments which aim to prevent such misfortunes. Banks must comply with these regulations or lose their char-

Interior of a Bank Building

ters. Inspectors appear every two or three months, with authority to look into everything a bank has done, and statements of the financial condition of the banks are published in the newspapers and in official reports.

Take notice of such statements in your local newspapers and find out the meaning of the terms used in them.

In spite of every precaution a rascally cashier will sometimes be able to conceal thefts of a bank's money for some time, but sooner or later he will be discovered. All the re-

sponsible officers of a bank are heavily bonded. That is, other men or bonding companies have pledged to pay a considerable sum of money in case the official goes wrong. When a bank, because of dishonesty or bad management, is obliged to close its doors, paying back the depositors' money is about the first thing that is undertaken. Stockholders can be called upon for additional payments if necessary to make good what is due the depositors.

Much excitement is usually aroused when a bank gets into difficulties, but the number of bank failures is exceedingly small in comparison with the number of banks doing business. All in all, it would be hard to find a safer place to put one's money than in a bank.

If any banks that you know of have failed, what was the cause? Where would your money be safer, in a savings bank or invested in bank stock? Which would probably bring larger returns? Why in each case?

Since every bank doing a regular business receives checks drawn upon hundreds of other banks and has many other dealings with them, much trouble would be caused if every bank had to deal separately with every other. So a country bank in New England will probably have some one bank in Boston as its agent or correspondent and will handle all its Boston business through that bank.

In the large cities, too, the banks unite in conducting a *clearing house*. This institution balances up the accounts of all its members with one another, and makes it unnecessary for a bank to send money or drafts back and forth between itself and every other bank in the city. The clearing house considers itself the representative of the general financial interests of the city, and sometimes helps out its members when they are in difficulty through no fault of their own, or when for some other reason an abnormal financial condition exists in the community.

Find some figures that show the amount of money represented in the business done by the clearing houses in the various cities during the year. See how the cities compare in this respect.

174. The Federal Reserve System. — Almost every bank of any importance in the United States is now a member of the great Federal Reserve system. This is organized under

a law passed in 1913, often called the Glass-Owen act. This law requires all national banks to belong to the system. It permits banks to join which have charters only from their state, and the advantages of membership are so many that these banks are very willing to come in.

At the head of this system is the Federal Reserve Board, which is composed of eight men. The Secretary of the Treasury and the Comptroller of the Currency are always members, and the other six are specially appointed by the President. This board has very extensive powers in directing the entire system and determining its policies.

The country is divided into twelve Federal Reserve districts. In an important city of each district is established a Federal Reserve bank, which becomes in a way the financial center of the district. This bank does not do business with individual depositors, but for the other banks of the district it performs the same kind of services that the ordinary bank would do for its depositors. It discounts notes for them, lends money to them, issues paper money, and does anything that may be needed to keep the district safe and sound in a financial way.

Very soon after the system was put into operation in this country the Great War started. The war put upon every nation in the world the severest kind of test financially that could be imagined. But our country came through it with much less strain and trouble than most people thought would be possible. For this happy result the lion's share of the credit may belong to the successful working of the Federal Reserve law. Just now, anyway, no one seems to have any notable improvement to suggest in connection with it, though fault is sometimes found with details of its operation.

Look at your paper money again and see what you can find on any of it that will tell you something about the Federal Reserve system.

175. Banks for Farmers. — Farmers have often found difficulty in getting money at reasonable rates of interest

when they wished to borrow it to make improvements on their farms or for other desirable purposes. To help them out of this difficulty and to make it possible for the farming resources of the nation to be used as the basis of credits in the business world, a federal farm loan system was established by a law of Congress in the summer of 1916.

As in the Federal Reserve banking system, the country is divided into twelve districts, with a federal land bank in each district. The two systems are, however, entirely distinct, and with one exception the banks are in different cities from those which possess the Federal Reserve banks.

In which district are you? Where is your farm loan bank?

In any neighborhood ten or more farmers may combine to form a national farm loan association, and these associations may apply to the federal land bank in their district for loans. No money is loaned to amount to more than fifty per cent of the assessed value of the property on which it is to be used, and none is loaned on property already mortgaged unless it be used first for the purpose of paying off that mortgage. The rate of interest is to be as low as the safe management of the system will permit, and the money borrowed may be paid back in installments.

The whole system is under the general direction of a Federal Farm Loan Board of five persons. The Secretary of the Treasury is chairman of the board, with a Farm Loan Commissioner and three other members appointed by the President. Already several hundred million dollars have been loaned to the farmers of the country through the farm loan banks. It is a good sign that the farmers are now getting reasonable consideration from our national financiers. They ought to have every convenience that is afforded to any city business man for carrying on their vitally important occupation.

Banks render inestimable service to our country's business. They are carefully managed and supervised by federal or

state government officials, depending on whether they are national or state banks. Most of the banks of the country are included in the Federal Reserve system. For the benefit of the farmers we also have federal farm loan banks.

SPECIAL TOPICS

Our Family Bank.
The Organization and Officers of a Bank.
Safe Deposit Vaults.
The Banks of Our Community.
What Banks Do with Their Money.
Why We Can Trust a Bank.
The Management of the Clearing House.
Our Federal Reserve Board.
Farm Loan Association.

READINGS

Marshall and Lyon — Our Economic Organization, Chapter 20.
Carver — Elementary Economics, Chapter 25.
Lessons in Community and National Life, A–22.
Thompson — Elementary Economics, Chapter 17.

CHAPTER XXIV

TRADING ABROAD

"So I make a jest of Wonder, and a mock of Time and Space,
The roofless Seas an hostel, and the Earth a market place,
Where the anxious traders know
Each is surety for his foe,
And none may thrive without his fellow's grace."— Kipling.

176. The Kinds of Trade. — The least complicated kind of trade we may call *local* trade. The farmer brings his potatoes into town and disposes of them to the storekeeper or to private families. The product of what is today one of the greatest organ factories in the world was at one time sold by peddlers who went from village to village and among the farm houses with a wagon no bigger than a grocer might use now. This kind of trade must always take place, for it is the only way by which we can provide ourselves with some things.

But different sections of the country are specially suited to produce certain commodities. Why not let them do so, and exchange their products for those of other sections? Thus comes about *intersectional* or *interregional* trade.

All the rest of the country needs the cotton of the South and the Southwest. The wheat and meat of the Central Valley and the Great Plains are readily taken by the city resident of the East. In turn the products of eastern factories make life in the southern and central states more comfortable. And whether we want to or not, we must go to the mountains of the West for many of our metals. They give us our gold, our silver, and most of our copper.

The kind of trade which we will consider in this chapter is still more far-reaching and perhaps more complicated.

This is foreign or *international* trade — between one nation and another nation or through exchange of products among several nations.

Mention five articles which you are likely always to obtain through local trade; five through interregional; five through foreign trade.

Make a list of the things that formed your breakfast. Where did each come from? To what city, state, or country are you indebted for the articles of clothing which you have on?

177. Why Nations Trade. — Is there any reason why nations should not trade with one another as well as sections of a country or towns or even individuals? If the principle of coöperation, of exchange of goods, is sound in one case it should be in the other. Surely if one nation can produce something more easily than another nation can produce the same thing, it would seem likely to be good business to let each do what it can do best, and then exchange their products. Nature seems to have encouraged what we may call territorial division of labor in fitting some countries to do certain things so much better than others. The law of least social cost works here as well as with individuals.

The difference between the value of goods which a country exports and those which it imports is often spoken of as its *balance of trade.* It used to be thought desirable for a nation to sell more goods than it bought and thus have a "favorable" balance of trade, rather than to buy from another country more than it sold to that country and thus have an "unfavorable" balance of trade with it.

But this is a wrong way to look at it. Japan or India can produce tea so much more easily than we can that it would be ridiculous for us to try to raise much tea. In a less degree this is true with many other things. If in order to raise enough beets to produce all the sugar we want, farmers chose to grow less of the wheat for which much of our soil is so well fitted, we should have made a poor change. We should not worry, therefore, about buying much more from Cuba

than we sell to Cuba. The money that we save by getting our sugar more cheaply, we can spend on other things that we want; and the balance of trade against us in the case of

A Tropical Product

Sugar-cane being loaded in the field at St. Kitts, West Indies. We cannot raise very much of this in the United States.

Cuba can be made up by the balance of trade in our favor in our dealings with some other countries.

Trade between nations tends to set up what we may call world markets in connection with certain goods. Chicago, for instance, is a sort of world market or center of trade for wheat and meat. When trade in some commodity reaches all over the world, the influences which might affect its price noticeably in one small section are largely neutralized. Prices in such commodities do not usually change extensively and suddenly. Almost everybody, the world over, uses

wheat and meat. The demand for these things is relatively steady. Extensive changes in their prices would be caused only by such unusual circumstances as disaster to the crop in some great agricultural country, or some extraordinary disturbance like a great war.

Trade between nations is to be encouraged, not discouraged. It helps to keep peace and to maintain mutual acquaintance among different peoples. Trade enables every nation to do better for its own people than if it tried to compel them to produce things they were not fitted to produce. Co-operation here is essential to the world's progress — not isolation but commerce and good-will among nations!

What kind of people might oppose trade between this nation and some other? If all our ports were blockaded by an enemy, in what ways would we suffer most? How did the Great War illustrate any of the conditions relating to trade between nations?

178. Difficulties in Foreign Trade. — There are some difficulties, it is true, in trading between nations which do not hamper trade between sections and cities in the same country. The people may speak different languages; their customs and wants may differ considerably. This is said to be one reason why the trade of United States merchants in South America has not been so successfully developed as that of English or German merchants. We tried to sell them the kind of goods which satisfied our wants and in the same shape to which we were accustomed. The business agents of other countries realized that it was much easier to get trade if they consulted the whims and wishes of the people to whom they were selling. Our own Department of Commerce in the last few years has tried to remedy this weakness in our systems of selling goods abroad. It has tried to keep American merchants in constant touch with the business demands of other countries and to tell them what they could expect to find a market for abroad.

Still another difficulty comes from the use of different systems of money in different countries. This fact makes

it somewhat harder to estimate the exchange value or price of goods and makes it necessary, if actual money is paid for them, for exchange to take place between the coins of one country and those of another. But they all know gold when they see it and are glad to get it; and with the great increase of the use of drafts, bills of exchange, acceptances, and the like, actual coin or bullion need not be used for payment very often.

A sort of national spirit or "patriotism" sometimes makes a nation want to provide for all its own needs, even if it costs more to do so. In time of war the ability to do this might prove very handy, but as a policy to pursue at all times and under all conditions it is short-sighted and expensive.

Another practical difficulty is that each country usually sets up custom houses on its frontier and insists that goods shall be brought in only through these places. On the importation of many goods taxes, sometimes high, are levied. Taxing imported goods naturally tends to cut down the amount that will be imported. So not only the physical inconvenience of importing goods, but protective tariffs and other taxes actually do reduce trade between nations considerably. It depends upon circumstances whether the distance of transportation and the cost of carriage is a serious matter. It is not so hard to bring goods from London to New York as from San Francisco, and often less trouble to carry goods over the Niagara than across the Hudson.

Mention ways not specified above, by which the difficulties referred to are overcome by merchants or others.

179. Paying for Foreign Goods. — Let us understand right at the start that we do not mean to discuss here any payments which governments make to one another. During the Great War the United States government made loans to the governments of our allies, and they did some lending among themselves. But in ordinary times this is not very common. The payments made between nations are usually

what the citizens of one country owe to the citizens of another.

The most common ways of paying such debts are by shipping gold and by sending bills of exchange. It is inconvenient to ship gold, it is somewhat risky, and there always has been a kind of prejudice which has made people hate to ship gold out of their own country. So it is seldom done ex-

Brown Bros.

GOLD AND SILVER BULLION READY FOR SHIPMENT ACROSS THE ATLANTIC

cept when the cost of carrying the gold, insuring it, and the like, is less than the rate charged for bills of exchange.

Bills of exchange, by the way, are bought and sold by people who have occasion to do it, or who make it their business, in almost the same way as the goods which are to be paid for. Because countries have different money systems, the paying of foreign debts is somewhat more complicated than paying debts at home. Before the War the English pound sterling was a kind of general standard, because of the financial importance of London as a center of the world's business. The War, however, upset the money conditions of Europe

completely, and New York gained greatly in importance, with the result that the American dollar came into common use as a standard of payment. As it was sometimes expressed, dollar exchange began to take the place of sterling exchange.

But whether bills of exchange are expressed in dollars or pounds, when a man in New York or Philadelphia owes money to a firm in Liverpool or London, he may buy from some banking house in his city a bill of exchange and send it to his creditor in England for payment. This creditor will probably deposit it in his own bank, which will call upon the English banking house mentioned in the bill. Very likely the English banking house and the American bankers who sold the bill have a permanent account with each other, and do not attempt to make payments back and forth for every single transaction between them.

One question that may occur to you is this: Suppose one country year after year buys from another country more than it sells to it; how is the country which buys going to pay for the goods? This has been the case between Great Britain and the United States for a long time.

Let us understand first that any particular debt of $10,000, for example, may not be paid by any particular payment of $10,000. A great many things help to balance the account. If Americans had to pay English ship-owners for carrying goods to and from this country — and this has been common — it would help to pay for what Englishmen owed us for goods. Then many more Americans visit England and spend money there than there are Englishmen who spend money here.

Some of the balances are adjusted by what is often called three-cornered trade. A common way of showing this is the following: Suppose the United States buys more from Brazil than we sell to Brazil, and Great Britain sells more to Brazil than she buys from Brazil. Then what we owe to Brazil and what Brazil owes to Great Britain will balance

in part what Great Britain owes to us. Of course half a dozen countries might be involved in this balancing process, instead of just three.

No nation can forever buy more from the rest of the world than it can pay for. If Britishers have made investments in the United States, these could be turned over to pay for the goods they bought here, if this were the only way to furnish payment.

Look up the figures about the foreign trade of this country. Find out what countries are our creditors and what countries our debtors. See if you can explain why in each case.

As a result of the Great War an enormous amount of gold was stored up in the United States. From the commercial viewpoint, was this situation good for us or for Europe?

180. Protective Tariffs and Their Effect. — Closely connected with the matter of international trade is the tariff question. A *protective tariff* is a tax levied by the government on imported goods, high enough so that the ordinary cost of the imported goods, plus the tax, will be at least as great as the cost of producing the goods at home. Then it is presumed that people will buy home goods instead of goods produced abroad, and home producers will be encouraged to provide articles which would otherwise be imported. England has found that a *revenue tariff* suits her best — that is, she puts taxes on some imported goods in order to get money to carry on the government, but not with any thought of inducing people to produce these goods in England.

Now what should be the proper policy of the United States in regard to a protective tariff? Such a tariff cannot help interfering to some extent with our foreign trade. Is this interference desirable? During the greater part of our history we have had a protective tariff in some form, though the rates have by no means been always as high as they are now. Let us set side by side some of the leading arguments for and against "protection."

For	*Against*
It induces home manufacturers to produce goods that would not be produced without it, and gives this country a great variety of industries.	It makes goods cost more, and the people in general would be better off if they bought their goods more cheaply, no matter where they came from.
It makes a nation more independent and able to look out for its own interests. Especially in time of war would this be very valuable.	It creates ill-feeling between nations and encourages unpleasant rivalry. If nations are dependent upon one another, there will be a strong influence to prevent war.
The prosperity of this country is the result of the protective tariff.	Interests that enjoy benefits from a protective tariff have a very dangerous influence in politics. The tariff has helped build up some great monopolies.
Higher wages are paid to American workingmen than to any others.	Other influences than the tariff are responsible for high wages. England, without protection, pays higher wages than Germany with it.

In our political history the present Republican party has always favored a protective tariff. The Democrats have favored either a revenue tariff or lower protective duties than the Republicans wanted. It is hard to judge just what effect would be produced by a really scientific tariff law of any kind, because political influence of one kind or another, has had much to do with making almost every law we ever had.

Very likely the tariff has not had, one way or the other, so important an effect as some people think. No intelligent person would think of recommending that the country should do away with the protective tariff all at once. At the same time there is no reasonable doubt that some of our tariff duties have been inexcusably high and ought either to be reduced or abolished. Some things we can produce more easily than other countries can. Such articles do not need

to be "protected." Some other things never could be produced here satisfactorily, no matter how much "protection" we put on them.

The tariff really ought not to be a political issue. How can the ordinary person, even though he happens to be a Congressman, have enough expert knowledge to decide intelligently what, if any, duty should be imposed on each one of a thousand different articles? We now have a Tariff Commission of six members, not all of the same party, who have the authority to investigate the details of our tariff laws and conditions that relate to them.

Our latest tariff act authorizes the President to modify the rates which are laid down in the law itself, if in his judgment changed conditions warrant their modification. President Harding announced that he would make such changes only when the Tariff Commission recommended them. Now if we can only get into the habit of referring such problems as these to men who have the special training and opportunity to study them thoroughly, and then make changes one by one as they may seem desirable, we shall be likely to get along far better in working out this tariff problem than we have done in the past. There is surely no sense in overhauling the whole tariff system just because a different party gets control of our national government.

181. Carrying Goods in Foreign Trade. — In spite of the enormous growth of our foreign commerce in recent years, we have sometimes felt humiliated when we noticed that by far the greater part of this was carried in ships which flew other flags than the Stars and Stripes. Before the Civil War we had a great merchant fleet, but later the percentage of the world's ocean commerce which we carried ourselves steadily declined.

When the Great War broke out the European ships which had carried our foreign commerce were largely needed for war purposes by the countries engaged in the struggle. To meet this awkward situation, Congress established a United States

Shipping Board with extensive authority to assist in the development of our commerce. In two years the tonnage of American ships was almost doubled and we are again second only to Great Britain.

Yet after all, we are not satisfied with the present situation. Our government does not care to operate ships as a business and for some reason private interests have either not cared to go into this business extensively or have feared they could not compete with the shippers of other countries.

Edwin Levick

A United States Shipping Board Vessel

To relieve this difficulty a "ship subsidy" policy has been urged from time to time. This policy would call for the appropriation of money from our national treasury to assist companies in carrying on foreign trade under the American flag. One objection which has been offered to this proposition is that it is simply handing out the money of all the people to encourage one particular industry, and that if this industry cannot support itself the rest of the people should not be taxed to keep it going. Others argue that ship companies whose business was so aided would be obliged to turn over their property for government use in time of war or some other emergency. We have for a long time insisted

that trade between our own harbors shall be carried on in American ships. But it is still a very debatable question whether we ought to work toward such a policy with reference to our foreign trade if we can do so only by paying considerable sums out of our own treasury.

Do you think it really makes any difference to the prosperity and safety of the American people whether our imports and exports are carried in American ships or ships under some other flag?

The same arguments which encourage trade between persons justify trade between sections and between nations. Some special complications affect international trade, but they can be overcome. Gold may be used to pay debts between countries, but only when the charge for bills of exchange is high. Protective tariffs interfere with international trade, but many people believe in them, mainly for the purpose of making a nation industrially independent. Other countries, notably Great Britain, have done much more than we in building ships for international commerce. Some people think we ought to aid the construction of American merchant ships by gifts or loans from the national treasury.

SPECIAL TOPICS

What We Import and Why.

What We Export and Why.

The Great War and Our Foreign Trade.

Resolved, that the United States should adhere permanently to the protective tariff idea.

Resolved, that Congress should assist private shipping firms by money grants and otherwise to build up a greater American merchant marine.

READINGS

Carver — Elementary Economics, Chapter 27.
Smith — Commerce and Industry, pp. 8–12, 523–536.
Burch — American Economic Life, Chapter 37.
Thompson — Elementary Economics, Chapters 18, 19.

WORKERS AND EMPLOYERS

CHAPTER XXV

RELATIONS WITH EACH OTHER

"When Crew and Captain understand each other to the core,
It takes a gale and more than a gale to put their ship ashore;
For one will do what the other commands, although they are chilled to the bone,
And both together can live through weather that neither can face alone."

— Kipling.

182. The Old Days and Now. — You will remember that in speaking of the Industrial Revolution we pointed out the enormous change that took place in the way industry was carried on. It was not only in the construction of great factories and the use of many and powerful machines that change took place. The relations of workers and employers were completely altered.

In the old-time shop, which might be a part of the employer's dwelling, only a few men were at work — half a dozen, say, or perhaps a few more. The master worked with his men and in many ways was one of them. Now the factory is just a factory, not a part of a person's home. It is built for work and not for living. Workers come together in hundreds or thousands every day. Some of them may never know of the existence of some of the others. Many of them may not be able to recognize the "boss" if they see him on the street.

The modern big business institution has carried division of labor to an extreme point. The proprietor or manager

must give his time almost wholly to thinking about the plans and policies of the business. It is out of the question for him to spend a great deal of time meeting his employees personally. If he would try to do that his business would be

Spooling Yarn in a Cotton Mill

A great many women are employed in this kind of work both in New England and in the South.

ruined. He knows most of his workers simply as James Smith or John Zerinsky or perhaps as No. 1653 or No. 1654. This is not his fault. It is the fault of the system. It is the only way thus far discovered by which an enormous number of workers can be handled efficiently.

All this sort of thing has tended to set workers into definite industrial classes. Some who have the talent necessary for managers or executives never know just what it is like to operate a machine day after day, though once in a while somebody "starts in at the bottom," as it is said, and is

rapidly pushed up to the top. Most of the workers never have the chance to show whether or not they possess leadership or executive ability, and many never try to do so. They are perfectly content to do the same thing day after day in the same old way so long as their pay is satisfactory. The ordinary worker has come to think of himself as "labor," playing a distinct and separate part in industry from the boss or manager whom he calls "capital."

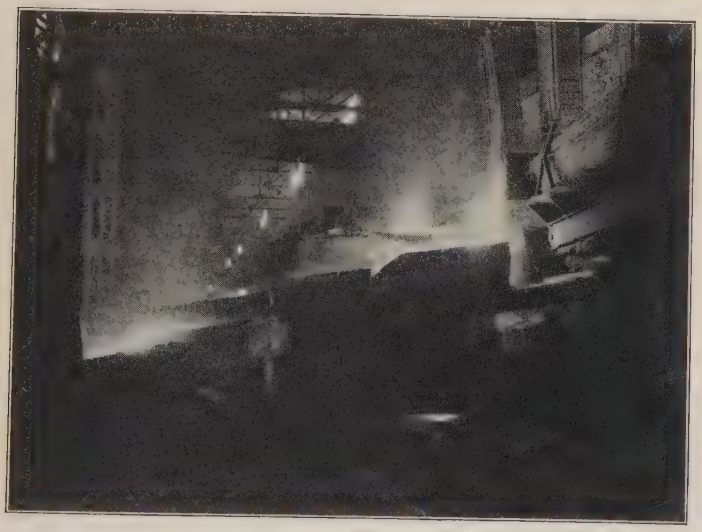
A still further change, perhaps even more important, is in the method of compensation for one's services. Once a worker might expect part of the product as pay for his toil. But now this sort of thing is out of the question. Nobody wants to receive iron rails or tombstones, for instance, as wages. In the old days, too, the workers owned their own tools, the carpenter his saw and hammer, the blacksmith his anvil, and so on. Now the capitalist owns the tools and the machinery. The workers contribute their labor and nothing more. They are paid not with some of the product, but with money. This wage system underlies the whole of modern industry.

Would you prefer to work for an employer whom you knew intimately, or one with whom you were not on speaking terms or who would not know you when he saw you? Is a worker who depends on some one else to furnish the tools to work with likely to be more, or less, interested in the industry himself? Which is better, financially or morally, that the worker shall always be able to aspire to become a manager or proprietor himself, or that he shall seek to better himself simply by getting more wages in the job which he has held for years?

183. Why Misunderstanding Occurs. — The old, old proverb, "A house divided against itself cannot stand," applies as truly to industry as to any other situation. If workers and employers think of themselves as enemies, our whole industrial system is going to blow up as if somebody had set off dynamite under it.

The very fact that the employer's work is so different from that of the hundreds or thousands of factory workers tends

to make each think unpleasantly of the other. The employer may think of his men in the same way that he thinks of his machinery. They are tools with which he gets his wealth. Too often the aim of employers seems to be to increase profits, and nothing more. Workers who are tyrannized over by that sort of employer fall into a state of mind which spreads like a contagion to other workers. They in turn some-



THE INTERIOR OF A GREAT MILL

Notice the hot metal coming out of the furnace. Would you care to work there?

times take it for granted that their employer is that kind of man, whether he really is or not. They are sometimes too ready to assign disagreeable motives to him when he is really trying to do the right thing by them.

This separation is still worse when, as in the case in many a factory or mining district, the workers are immigrants who do not even speak the same language as do their employers. They not only get the impression that he is not and never will be one of them, but are ready prey for the demagogues and

trouble-makers who keep them discontented even when they would not naturally be so.

The ordinary worker today very often takes no personal interest in the business whatever. It is hard for a worker to become enthusiastic over tightening a bolt or a screw several thousand times a day, or sewing by machine a certain part of a shoe and then never having a look at the whole article when it is done. Sometimes he deliberately tries to do as little for his employer as possible, either by loafing while he is supposed to be working, or not doing well the thing he is supposed to do. If his employer discovers that this sort of thing is going on, he thinks harshly of the worker, and then the worker instead of blaming himself gets still more embittered at the employer.

Perhaps, after all, it would be very strange if misunderstanding did not occur. It is a result of our machine-made industry — of the impersonality of modern business, as it is sometimes called. It is a serious matter, nevertheless, and one that must somehow be corrected if our industries and our nation itself are going to be what we should like to have them. This sort of class distinction that has grown up in industry is sometimes carried over into politics. But it will be a sorry day for any nation when elections come to be a fight between an employing class and an employed class to see which can get the upper hand at the ballot box.

Is an employer at fault if he does not know his men personally? Whom are workers hurting more, themselves or their employers, if they work less efficiently than they can? Should workers and employers be on the same level socially? Do big business men work hard? Which would be the more wearing, to work eight hours a day in a factory or to manage the whole establishment? Does the capitalist risk more than the laborer?

184. Grievances of the Workers. — Read about the work done in factories before the middle of the nineteenth century, and you will see that the working day extended from sunrise to sunset. The idea seemed to be that the longer

one worked the better it was for everybody. And the wages! One dollar a day was good pay. Grocery stores were open six days a week until bedtime — nine o'clock, and a boy starting to work in one of them might not expect more than a dollar and a half a week.

But after a time a change set in. Men began to talk about a ten-hour day as the proper length for work. No sooner had this become general than nine hours and finally eight were set as the ideal work-day. A rhyme words it this way:

A Mile from Sunlight

These men are drilling out coal in a West Virginia Mine.

"Eight hours for work, eight hours for play, eight hours for sleep, make a full day."

A person who works so long as to become exhausted cannot do good work. Many accidents occur in the latter part of the afternoon when the workers are tired. There is little doubt that one who works faithfully eight hours a day can do about as much, in most occupations, as one who is obliged to work ten hours every day, for the shorter time does not exhaust him so much as the longer, and he is able to work faster.

Workers are not willing to accept reduced pay when the

regular hours of labor are reduced. They argue that if they do as much in eight hours as they once did in ten they should be paid as much — and of course that is reasonable. But that is only the starting-point. The last few decades have seen extraordinary increases in the pay of workers. Carpenters, painters, and other skilled workmen now frequently get as much for an hour as such workers once received for a whole day.

Can you do as much work in a forty-minute recitation period as in a fifty-minute period? Are shorter hours more justifiable in some industries than in others?

Still more important perhaps, though the workers do not always realize it, are the conditions under which their labor is performed. The first factories were nothing but cheerless structures with too little light, abundant dirt, and no facilities for personal comfort. If the workers were anything better than animals or machines when they took employment in such places, they might be reduced to those stages before long.

There are two chief ways of paying for one's services. Under *time payment* the workers are paid not for how much they do, but for the time they spend in doing it. Under *piece work*, the employer pays for the amount which the worker accomplishes without regard to the time which he spends. The skillful man under this method can earn much larger wages than the less capable. But workers often complain that when the employer fixes the amount he will pay under this method, he estimates it on the basis of what the fastest worker can do. Then, as the worker looks at it, those who are not unusually skillful have to work at a rate that is harmful to their health in order to get anything like living wages. The employer is likely to prefer piece payment rather than time payment because the worker on "time" has more temptation to do less than his best.

Some establishments have adopted what is known as the *bonus system*. Each worker is paid a standard rate, regardless of the amount of his production. However, a standard time is set for doing a certain piece of work, based on what the average worker can do under ordinary circumstances, and any worker who passes this standard receives extra payment in the form of a bonus for

his increased production. In this way, both the time and piece methods are combined and the result is often satisfactory. The salesman who is paid a salary and also given commissions on sales over a certain amount is working on the same principle.

What kind of worker generally prefers the time method? The piece method? Which of these two methods do the labor unions generally prefer? What are their reasons? What do you think of the bonus system?

185. Unions and Their Purposes. — "In union there is strength." One man out of a thousand employed in a large

Courtesy Portland Cement Association

A Modern Factory Building

factory can have little influence upon the policy of his employer in regard to wages or conditions of labor, unless he is exceptionally skillful and capable of performing some special service essential to the business. The thousand united in one organization can exert a force that a factory-owner, millionaire though he may be, will hesitate to treat with contempt.

Realizing this fact, the workers in many industries have formed themselves into unions, and in countries such as England have acquired a power greater even than they can now exercise here. The union is a permanent body and can map

out a policy to follow as readily as the employer, and if its officers are intelligent men, it can plan for the interests of its members for years to come.

The first unions, both in England and the United States, were usually limited to one city and to one trade in the city. These may be called *trade* unions. Now they may embrace all the workers in a certain industry in several states, as the United Mine Workers of America. These are *industrial* unions. Another tendency of late years is to bring different unions from many trades into one great federation, on the same principle as the United States itself is organized. Here we have a *labor* union.

The best type of this movement is the *American Federation of Labor*, which now includes 110 national unions and claims over 4,000,000 paid members. Its president, Samuel Gompers, ranks with John Mitchell, who for many years headed the United Mine Workers, among the most intelligent and far-sighted of labor leaders.

The main objects of the unions are to secure higher wages, shorter hours of labor, and better working conditions for their members. Besides, unions often provide a fund which may be drawn upon for the payment of benefits in accident or sickness or when members are out on a strike, and they sometimes make direct efforts to encourage the mental improvement of their members and the conditions of life outside the factory. But the union usually emphasizes the idea that the improvement of home conditions can come only through shorter hours to give the worker more time at home and through more pay to enjoy his greater leisure. Since the unions came into existence, standards of hours and wages have been greatly improved. How much of the credit for this should be given to the unions cannot easily be determined, but certainly they have accomplished much in stirring up public interest.

What is the difference between "wages" and "salary"? Labor speakers sometimes talk about "wage slaves." What do they mean?

To the workman who feels his weakness, labor unions have been of great advantage. Sometimes, unfortunately,

the policy of labor unions enables lazy, inefficient workers to enforce unwarranted demands for more pay and less work. The union, too, may be of no advantage to the strong, capable worker. He may do more and better work than the man next to him, but there is no difference in their rewards.

Keystone View Co.

LABOR LEADERS IN SESSION

These men are officers of unions of railroad workers. They had come together to discuss a wage decision made by the United States Railroad Labor Board.

Surely some way should be found to remedy such unfairness.

Is it desirable for society that workers be organized in unions? Why? What should be the aim of the labor union? Why are the "white collar" workers seldom unionized?

186. Methods of Unions. — To gain the ends it desires, the union is likely to make use of one or more of three methods, which under favorable conditions may be powerfully effective. The first of these is the practice of *collective bar-*

gaining. This means that instead of letting each workman make whatever terms he can with his employer, the officers of a union carry on the discussion in behalf of all their members. If the officers and the employer can agree on terms,

Keystone View Co.

TRYING TO START A STRIKE

The speaker is urging the workers in a great steel plant to take part in a nation-wide strike.

they sign a *trade agreement* which binds both parties for a period, usually of one to three years.

To make this power of collective bargaining effective, the unions favor a *closed shop*, or, as they prefer to call it, a *union shop* — that is, an understanding by which only members of the union will be employed in that establishment. The employer almost invariably prefers the *open shop*, where he is free to hire any one he pleases, and where a worker does not need to belong to a union. Some very bitter controversies have arisen over this point, for the employer feels keenly that he, rather than the officers of a union, should have the right to say who shall work in his own establishment.

If peaceful terms cannot be made, the next step of the union officials may be to order a *strike*. When this is declared, all the members of the union are expected to refuse to work for that employer until he grants their demands or until, for some other reason, their officers tell them to return. Strikes occur, of course, in places where the men are not organized into unions, but they are less frequent and less likely to be successful. Unions which have no grievance of their own sometimes declare a *sympathetic strike* in order to force their own employer to urge another employer to yield to the wishes of strikers in the latter's factory.

Still another scheme is the *boycott*. This is an organized effort to induce all those who sympathize with the strikers to refuse to use the products of a factory where a strike is going on, to ride on the cars of a railway company, or to do anything else that would help to "break" a strike. In carrying out a policy of this kind, unions often publish an "unfair list," as they call it, which contains the names of firms or individuals who have refused to comply with demands made on them by labor unions, the idea being that friends of the unions will not patronize such establishments.

Sometimes strikers undertake a *secondary boycott*, which is a refusal on their part to deal with any one who has anything to do with an employer or firm that is being boycotted. This is often unjust to persons who have no part in the strike itself, and whose only offense is that they do business with any one who comes to them. Getting at the same end in a less disagreeable way, the union may publish a "white list" of firms with which it is on good terms, and it furnishes a "union label," which is to be attached to all goods from shops conducted in accordance with the wishes of the union.

When destruction of property occurs during an extensive strike, union officials are generally among the first to condemn it. No doubt such occasions are abused by the rowdy element which exists in almost every community and which seizes its opportunity to do violence. At such times it is

next to impossible to tell how much, if any, of the disorder is due to the strikers themselves. The practice of *picketing*, or stationing men around a factory to dissuade or prevent others from going there to work, often leads to personal encounters and sometimes to bloodshed.

Mention some good and some bad features of collective bargaining. Does the closed shop mean that the workers are trying to take the control of the business out of the employer's hands? Mention some strikes that seem to you to have been justifiable and some that seem not justifiable. What is your opinion of a sympathetic strike? Are you or the people of your community in the habit of looking for the union label on the goods which you buy?

187. How Employers Look Out for Themselves. — The average working man may say that employers do not need to go to any trouble to protect their interests in a labor dispute. Their position is such, he may feel, that they have the upper hand anyway. Union leaders insist that unions are formed because employers are already organized and strong, and the working man needs to protect himself against them.

Employers, however, are not satisfied with whatever advantage or position they may hold under ordinary conditions. Since unions began to grow in numbers and strength, employers have coöperated more openly and effectively. We have had for a number of years, for instance, the National Association of Manufacturers. An Association of Railroad Executives was also formed, who sought to promote their common interests and to put up a united front when trouble was threatened between them and the railroad brotherhoods. In a number of cities there are employers' associations, whose purpose is to gather all the information possible with reference to industrial disputes and put up the employers' side of the argument in such form that it may reach the public through newspapers, debates, and other sources.

In an actual controversy other weapons are in the hands of employers. They may close their doors and refuse to let

their employees work until the latter are willing to make terms which the employers consider reasonable. This sort of "employer's strike" is usually called a *lockout*. Employers may also establish a *black list* on which the names of troublesome workers are placed. Other employers are informed about the names on this list and if any of these workers try to get a job elsewhere, they may find it very difficult to do so.

In the past labor organizations have often complained about the use of injunctions by employers. An *injunction* is an order issued by a court commanding a person or corporation to refrain from doing something which he is supposed to have had in mind. Employers have often requested courts to issue injunctions ordering strikers or their leaders to refrain from disturbing the operations of the employer's business. Such uses of the injunction have been very objectionable to the unions, who have protested that such injunctions were tyrannical and unreasonable. Lately, however, the unions have found that they can use injunctions against employers who seem likely to disregard their duties toward unions. There is no reason for thinking of the injunction as a weapon of one side only. If courts are careful not to issue them on slight pretext, they need not be considered a menace to any law-abiding citizen.

Find out the causes of trouble in connection with the most notable strikes or threats of strikes in our history.

188. The Better Way. — We have worried considerably about settling strikes after they occurred and have spent a good deal of time trying to provide machinery to settle arguments after they break out. Would it not be far more sensible to prevent these troubles rather than to patch them up after damage has been done? Surely there is some better way to look at industry than to imagine that the two parts, employers and workers, are simply fighting to see how much one can get out of the other.

Labor is necessary to capital and capital is just as necessary to labor. Neither can work alone. Each must do its part for the good of society. Almost always there is no need for trouble if both sides honestly try to be fair to each other.

Often one or both parties make demands which they know are unreasonable so that they can appear to compromise by withdrawing the unreasonable features later and settling upon something which is really fair. The thing to do is for both sides to get together and talk things over frankly. Then if they absolutely cannot reach a settlement they

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LABOR LEADERS AND SENATORS IN CONFERENCE

At the left is President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor. The conference is discussing conditions that grew out of the coal strike in 1922.

ought to be willing to turn the question over to impartial, disinterested people and abide by their opinion. That is what we do in the cases which we refer to our courts.

After all, laws can only set up the machinery for dealing with this matter. Laws alone cannot cure the trouble. It rests in the hearts of men and women. Selfishness is at the bottom of it all. The employer who tries to see how little his men will accept and the union which demands unreasonable pay just because it thinks it can get it are both undeserving of the sympathy of the people.

No machinery in the way of boards or conferences can

prevent trouble if either or both parties in industry are looking for trouble. Quite likely capital really does owe labor something in return for the wrongs that labor has suffered in the past. This does not mean, however, that labor should set itself in a place of domination and undertake to dictate terms to the employers and the rest of the people. Some-

International

On Good Terms

Henry Ford has not forgotten that he once wore overalls himself. He has been talking with the men in charge of the train on which he has just traveled.

how we must get that spirit of understanding and coöperation which alone can straighten things out. We shall do better if we assume that the other fellow means to do right instead of wrong. To understand one another's point of view will lead to better feeling on everybody's part toward everybody else.

Are there labor unions in your community? If so, of what kinds? What is the general attitude of the community toward them outside their own membership? What sort of feeling prevails in general between employers and employees?

189. Employers of the Right Sort. — It is certainly too bad that the sins of employers in the past are sometimes visited on employers of today who really want to do the right thing. Employers are not all hard-hearted money-making machines. Some of them feel, as did former President Baer of the Reading Railroad, that God has entrusted them with the administration of certain duties in the development of the nation, although they usually express the idea more tactfully than he did. That the men and women who work for them are something more than machines is a thought which will naturally come to a right-minded employer.

To induce workmen to feel that they actually have an interest in the business, some firms have established a system of *profit sharing*. A part of the firm's profits is divided among the employees. It may be distributed as a bonus in addition to the regular wages of the employee or, as is often the case with some European firms, will be paid after he reaches a certain age. The United States Steel Corporation reserves shares of stock which the employees may buy and so acquire a financial interest in the business.

Profit sharing has not taken a strong hold in this country. Most labor leaders oppose it vigorously, for they believe it tends to make the laborer look at the industrial situation too much from the employer's viewpoint. They say that profit sharing and welfare work are simply forms of enlightened selfishness, and that the employer makes use of them because they will make his men more contented, so that he can get more work out of them.

Would you work better for your employer when you knew you were going to get more money if the business were successful? Is it your moral duty to work your best all the time, regardless of your wages?

The spirit and health of a worker depend greatly on how he lives when he is away from the factory. The most enlightened employers therefore feel an interest in this side of the life of their helpers. Efforts to better the condition of employees when they are not at work are often called *welfare work*. It takes various forms. Libraries, gymnasiums,

Courtesy American Sheet & Tin Plate Co.

EMPLOYEES' GARDENS

meeting-places for clubs, evening schools, baseball grounds, and the like, are often maintained in connection with a factory. Sometimes a small fee is charged for the use of these things, to relieve the worker from feeling that he is simply an object of charity. Sometimes, too, a corporation will support a branch of the Y.M.C.A., the Knights of Columbus, or some similar organization and conduct its welfare work through them.

Henry Ford pays a uniformly high standard of wages and insists that his workmen shall maintain their own homes, if they are married, and observe proper habits of life. Any one who knew personally H. J. Heinz, the founder of the world-famous business which advertises its "57" varieties, could not doubt his sincerity when he said, in reply to a question as to whether his firm would be re-

paid for its expenses for "welfare": "I have never given that side of the matter any thought. We are fully repaid when we see our employees enjoying themselves and spending their noons and evenings in a manner profitable to themselves."

One activity which has been harshly criticized is the "company store." It is possible for a corporation to buy goods in large quantities and sell them to their employees at cost. Several corporations did this during 1919 and 1920, and rendered their workers

Courtesy Illinois Steel Co.

A Factory Dining-room at Meal Time

The men can buy wholesome food here at reasonable prices.

a decidedly good turn. Sometimes, however, in a small mining town or similar place a corporation has been known to compel a worker to buy from the company store if he wished to keep his job. His purchases would be charged and the amount he owed taken out of his monthly pay. If the company's prices were not any lower than those of other dealers, the worker would not be benefited at all and might be almost made a serf to the company. The worker usually prefers to buy where he pleases.

Most of the opposition to welfare work comes from labor organizations. Many of these argue that it ought to be done through the labor union if it is done at all, and that it would

be far better to pay higher wages and let the employee look out for his own recreation and improvement. They sometimes say that the employer cares more for the good-will of the public which he gets by reason of his welfare work than he does for the interest of his employees.

Much good, however, has been accomplished in many cases. Welfare work helps to humanize industry and bring

A Row of Company Houses

This is a sample of a monotonous kind of construction that we sometimes see in mining or mill towns.

about friendlier feelings between employer and employee. It encourages to some extent that desirable spirit of coöperation. Undoubtedly, too, some workers would not know how to spend wisely the money which this welfare work costs if it were given to them in cash.

Find out what you can about any firms which are notable for their welfare work. Should an employee think of this simply as charity?

Another interest which we may mention under the head of welfare work is the providing of homes for workers. It is such a big problem that it is worth considering by itself. It is a problem both of maintaining good houses and destroying bad houses. To help their workers have homes of their own, some corporations have built entire towns, in

Courtesy Carnegie Steel Co.

BETTER HOUSES FOR WORKERS

The company often erects cottages like these and rents them to its employees at a small cost.

which they rent the houses or sell them to their employees at reasonable prices.

One of the early experiments along this line was the town of Pullman, Illinois, built by the Pullman Car Company. This was not wholly successful, because, as it was said, the workers did not enjoy eating, sleeping, and going to church for the same company for which they worked. But many such undertakings seem to have succeeded better. The pretty town of Vandergrift, Pennsylvania, was built in a somewhat similar way. The rubber companies of Akron and other large corporations have bought up big tracts of land, and after reserving parts of them for parks and playgrounds, divided the rest into building lots and put up attractive houses.

The town of Port Sunlight in England, built by the Lever Brothers, is one of the most famous examples of this kind of enterprise.

A worker cannot fail to be more contented and willing to settle down in one place if there is a little spot which he can call his own home. To help him to get this by means that will not be a burden is both good business and humanity. If individuals cannot get these through their own efforts, and the corporations which employ them cannot or will not help them, the city government may find it necessary to build and rent houses. This has been done in England and other countries in Europe and has been talked about in this country. Private corporations to build and rent small houses at nearly cost price have also been proposed.

Did you or your family ever have trouble getting a place to live? Why? How would you like to live in a town which was owned by the company for which your father worked?

190. Industrial Democracy. — Americans usually love to talk about democracy, but it is only recently that they have begun to think of it as applied to industry. By the term *industrial democracy* we mean simply the policy of giving the employees as well as the proprietors a voice in the management of the business. It is actually putting into practice the doctrine that all who are connected with an industry should feel a direct interest in its success and some responsibility for making it successful.

Many employers have encouraged their men to make suggestions for improvement in conducting the business, offering reward in money for acceptable ideas. Many also, as we have seen, have built houses to rent or to sell to their people, and have tried to surround the workers with pleasant conditions, both while at work and at home. But the initiative in these cases came from the employers. Should the men have equal opportunity to propose policies or methods?

Sometimes very elaborate methods are planned for organizing an industrial establishment. Different grades of workers may be elected members of a house of representa-

tives and a senate and the executive officers of a corporation may form a cabinet. Sometimes the workers' part in the business consists chiefly in the election of shop committees, which may make suggestions to the employers for improvements in that part of the business with which the workers are directly concerned. The exact machinery by which representation is provided is not nearly so important as the spirit of the thing. It has not been known to fail where both sides went into the arrangement with an honest desire

Courtesy Carnegie Steel Co.

A Long Time in Service

Some companies arrange an annual picnic for their employees. Here you see a part of a group of men who have worked in the same establishment for over thirty-five years.

to make the project work. Great results have been claimed for the new idea in many places. The workers do more and better work, even though they sometimes ask for shorter hours, and a wonderful spirit of contentment is said to prevail.

Probably many of the details in some of these experiments will have to be revised after they have been tried, but the ideals of industrial democracy are splendid. Everybody is to feel that he has a real voice in the operation of the busi-

ness. Workers and employers alike know exactly how the business stands financially. When this is the case there can be no excuse for strikes and lockouts if all difficulties are approached in the spirit of coöperation and good-will. "Put yourself in the other fellow's place and follow the Golden Rule," is said to be the slogan of one establishment. Remarkable harmony and success have prevailed there.

Could this principle be applied to businesses in which any of your family are represented? Do you think of any in which it would be difficult to introduce it? Is the idea of industrial democracy anything like student government in school? What restrictions might be desirable in either case? What sort of employers might not like it? What sort of employees? Would labor unions be harmed if this plan should become common? If so, would that be a real argument against it?

The machinery and organization of modern business tend to separate employers and employees into separate classes which think harshly of each other. To strengthen the position of the employees, unions have been formed in many industries, and employers have also associated themselves together. Strikes, boycotts, and lockouts have been all too frequent. Liberal-minded employers have sought by systems of profit-sharing and welfare work to develop in employees a feeling of direct interest in the business. Perhaps the most promising suggestion is to introduce into industry some of the features of democracy, and let the employees have some voice in the administration of a business.

SPECIAL TOPICS

How I Would Pay My Employees.
The Rules of a Labor Union.
The American Federation of Labor.
John Mitchell and Samuel Gompers.
Famous Strikes in American History.
The Story of the Adamson Bill.
Profit-Sharing.
Welfare Work.
A Firm That Cares about Its Employees.

Systems of Employee Representation.
Company Stores.
Corporation Schools.
The Housing Program of a Great Corporation.
Workers' Homes and How They Are Cared For.

Resolved, that employees should be given representation on the boards of directors of large corporations.

The National Cash Register Company; Port Sunlight; Ivorydale; the Riverside and Dan River Cotton Mills (or other places and establishments noted for friendly relations between employers and employees).

READINGS

Carlton — Elementary Economics, Chapters 14, 15.

Lessons in Community and National Life, A–28, A–29, B–12, B–29, B–31, C–32.

Burch — American Economic Life, Chapters 13, 14, 28.

Thompson — Elementary Economics, Chapters 22, 23.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE PEOPLE'S INTEREST

"Society is as little ready to accept an oligarchy of labor as to tolerate longer an oligarchy of capital." — Haworth.

191. Who Suffers from a Strike? — In every strike the strikers lose money which they would have received in wages. The employer loses business which would otherwise have brought him profits. If the strike is prolonged, and sometimes when it is not, bitterness is likely to be engendered which will last indefinitely. Each side hopes it can get the better of the other, and perhaps neither side cares very much about the public at large, who may be depending upon them for supplying the necessities of life.

Everybody suffers from a strike. Both parties to it know there must be a settlement sometime. Why can't they make it before the damage is done instead of afterward?

We sometimes hear it said that public opinion will determine which side is to have the victory in labor disputes. But it sometimes takes a long time for public opinion to make itself felt when one or both parties to the strike are stubborn. And suppose the public does not know which side is in the right or feels that both sides are partly to blame; suppose its chief desire is to have the two parties get together and settle their quarrel peacefully. In such a case, is there anything we can do about it?

How would public opinion in a labor dispute make itself known? Is it ever justifiable for either the employer or a union to break an agreement which they have made? Do public officials, such as policemen, firemen, and post office clerks, have as much right to strike as private employees?

192. Can the Government Help? — To avoid inconvenience and suffering to the public and to force both sides to be reasonable, some countries have laws which require the submission of disputes to investigation by a board representing the government. In Australia, New Zealand, and Norway strikes and lockouts are forbidden by law. Disputes must be submitted to arbitration and the award of the arbitrators must be accepted.

Canada has a law which forbids strikes and lockouts until a board has investigated the matters in dispute and recommended what it thinks to be right. It is hoped that when this has been done, public opinion will be strong enough to force the parties to the dispute to accept the decision. Undoubtedly many serious quarrels have been settled in this way.

In the United States we had nothing like either of these for a long time. But the Esch-Cummins Act of 1920 established the Railroad Labor Board and provides that all disputes affecting railroad workers must be submitted to this board, if they cannot be settled between the employees and the managers directly. The State of Kansas established an Industrial Relations Court and demanded that all labor disputes in important industries should be brought before it. In this case strikes were virtually made illegal.

Most states have contented themselves with a Board of Conciliation and Arbitration, which can offer its services in aiding to settle disputes, but which has no power to command the quarreling parties to do anything. A similar agency is connected with the Department of Labor in the national government, and during the War the War Labor Board was of great help in settling such disputes.

Our national government has tried to get representatives of the different industrial classes to come together and talk things over in a friendly way, in the hope that they might come to some understanding. It often happens, however, that when people come together, some as employers and others as laborers, the result is that they think they must protect the interests of

their particular class in preference to doing anything else. If the government itself intervenes through a president or a governor or some other official, he may sometimes be forced to take sides and then the other side accuses him of unfairness. It is very difficult to know just how much the government can

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RESULTS OF A LABOR WAR

The picture shows what is left of the supply house of a mining company at Herrin, Illinois. The building was dynamited and then burned.

do and how much it will have to depend on the good-will and good sense of citizens to do for themselves.

What do you consider non-essential industries? Are strikes likely to occur in this kind of industries?

193. Arbitration — Why? — Arbitration sounds good. You understand, of course, that *arbitration* does not mean simply settling things peaceably. It requires the calling in of other parties who are supposed to be impartial, as well as the representatives of those who are directly connected with the dispute.

Frequently, however, one party or the other will refuse to consider arbitration. It is often asserted that arbitration always means a compromise. It is said that the arbitrators will try to please both sides in part rather than find out exactly what is just. Especially, labor unions object to compulsory arbitration. They are strongly determined that they shall not be denied what they call the "right to strike." Some people think that they ought to be more concerned about the right to work, and that it is really more important that a person shall have the chance to earn a living than that he shall have the right to stop earning.

In connection with the big industrial disputes of recent years we have frequently seen one party or the other insisting that if a settlement was reached it must be made by the two parties in consultation with each other, rather than by having representatives of the government or any outside element brought in. If the employer and the worker would only get together in advance and talk things over, then of course there would be much less need of arbitration. If somehow we can develop this proper attitude, perhaps we shall not need to worry so much about devising systems of arbitration.

194. The Rights of the People. — The general public favors justice and a square deal to all, but it thinks that inasmuch as both laboring man and employer get their income from the public both ought to remember the whole people as well as themselves. After all, business should be conducted for the benefit of the people. No one, whether he is a farmer, machinist, physician, stenographer, or anything else, could live if it were not for the people who patronize him, directly or indirectly.

A newspaper man whimsically expresses the idea this way:

The Public said, "This land immense
They say was made for me.
Why should I just be audience
For folks who can't agree?"

How wrong it is for any person or group of people to attempt to carry on a business activity without thinking or caring how other people are affected by the way they do it! We are all concerned in having the great essential industries carried on and in the way they shall be carried on, and we have a right to some voice in the matter.

Surely it cannot be right for farmers or railroad men or policemen or any other group of people whom the community

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A Street Railway Strike

Strikers or their sympathizers overturned and wrecked these cars in Denver, Colorado. The public was seriously inconvenienced. Are such conditions necessary or excusable?

depends upon for life or protection, to quit work without very real grievance which could not be remedied by peaceful means. The public wants everybody to have a square deal. But it says to the fault finders, "Be reasonable. Get together. Talk it over. Realize that each of you is dependent upon the other."

Some way must be found by which the people may see to it that all who are connected with an industry get a fair return

for what they contribute to it. But when employer and workman cannot agree, the public ought to be able to suggest to them, " You keep on with your job and turn over to our representatives the problem which you have not solved. We can't do any worse with it than you have done, and since we are willing to help you find the answer, you have no right to make us suffer while you are looking for it. We don't want any more of these private wars."

Another thing to remember is that even if wages are increased as a result of a long strike, it takes years for the amount of the increase to make up to the workman the total loss of wages during the strike. And even if prices go up after a strike — for the employer always passes the wage increase along to the public — the higher price may never make up for the loss and inconvenience caused to the employer by the strike. For both increases — wages and prices — the public pays.

Another thought that sometimes does not receive proper consideration is that capital and labor are themselves a part of the public. It is seldom that more than a small fracton of all the capital or all the labor in the country is directly concerned in any particular dispute. Those who are looked upon as the outside party, " the public," in this dispute, may be directly mixed up in the next controversy. So if we can get the right principle established, and then remember that we all belong to " the public " after all, we ought to be in a much more reasonable state of mind toward one another if any difference of opinion arises.

In a dispute over the wages of street railway employees, would your attitude be any different if you were an automobile owner, a regular traveler on the cars, a stockholder in the street car company, or a member of a labor union? Does the public's interest in labor disputes require a worker to stay on his job whether he is satisfied or not? If not, what can be justly demanded of him? Is the public ever responsible for labor disputes?

Labor and capital both depend upon the public for their income. There is a growing feeling that everybody else ought

not to be made to suffer just because two groups of men cannot agree. We have boards of arbitration which can offer their help in settling disputes, but only a few instances in which the government tries to compel the continuance of an industry when a dispute seems impossible to be settled by the parties to it directly. We all belong to "the public" most of the time, and ought to look with favor upon any means that will promote the peaceful settlement of disputes.

SPECIAL TOPICS

Resolved, that labor unions have done more good than harm in this country.

Resolved, that the United States Government should institute a system of compulsory arbitration of labor disputes.

Resolved, that strikes in essential industries should be forbidden.

Resolved, that our state should set up a Court of Industrial Relations similar in principle to that of Kansas.

Anti-Strike Laws in Australia and Canada.

The Losses from Some of Our Great Strikes.

READING

Carlton — Elementary Economics, Chapter 23.

CHAPTER XXVII

PROTECTING THE WORKERS

"It is not linen you're wearing out,
But human creatures' lives."
— Hood.

195. Workers and Their Needs. — We often lay stress, and rightly, on certain qualities a good worker ought to possess. He ought to be capable, honest, punctual, faithful, enterprising, ambitious, persevering, and happy. That is a large contract. Yet after all it is not a bit too much if good-will and prosperity are to result from our industrial relations.

Several of those qualities only the worker is responsible for, but the conditions under which a person works may either encourage him or discourage him in trying to develop any of them. Who is the safest and best worker — the one who is thought of simply as if he were part of the machinery, or the one who is treated as a human being? One would not expect a machine to run well without being cleaned and oiled and otherwise properly cared for. Surely the "human factor" deserves the same kind of care. Surely the worker will do his best for an employer who takes an interest in him. Coöperation, again, not distrust, is what counts.

What qualities in a worker can only he be responsible for? What qualities may be greatly affected by the way his employer treats him? Show how the employer is likely to be benefited financially if his workers are comfortable and contented. If an employer is benefited by providing proper conditions for his workers, is it right to accuse him of selfishness when he does so?

The laborer who works in a factory that some one else owns and with tools that are really a part of the factory cannot provide the proper conditions himself. Some employers will do

none of the things they ought unless they are obliged to. To force such employers to do right and to help others who may be well-meaning but ignorant, most of our states have factory laws making definite provisions as to the conditions that must prevail. They must also have a force of factory inspectors to see that these laws are carried out.

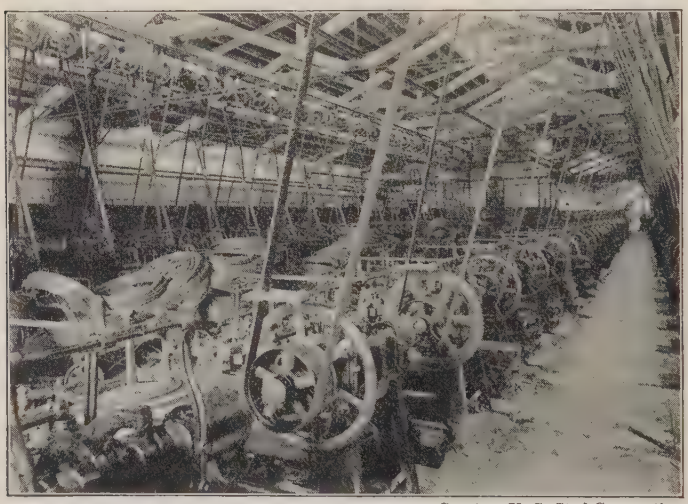
Our law-makers and our courts have always considered that women and children need more protection than men. They apparently are not able to protect themselves so well through organization in unions. The fact that they cannot do all kinds of work limits somewhat the influence they can bring to bear on an employer with reference to wages or any other matter which concerns them. In a special way, too, their welfare is of vital importance to the well-being of the nation in years to come. For these reasons, as well as some of a more sentimental character, we have laws for the protection of women and children which do not apply to men to the same extent. In our national Department of Labor there are a Children's Bureau and a Women's Bureau, which study conditions affecting these workers.

Just as essential to the worker as favorable conditions of work are favorable conditions at home. But such conditions do not always prevail, by any means. Sometimes the workers in our great mills and factories live under conditions of mere existence. After the day's work is over they come home tired and hungry, not to a bright attractive place but perhaps to a few small rooms in one of our huge tenements.

Living under such conditions, the worker cannot hope to advance. His children grow up ignorant and impaired in health, unable to meet the problems of life. Ignorant and inefficient workers cannot perform good work, nor can ignorant citizens run a government properly. And so if we are to make conditions within this country of ours better, we must first see to it that the workers receive enough compensation to enable them to maintain decent conditions at home, for the way they live affects the whole nation.

Make a list of ten things which are not absolute necessities, but which you think every worker has a right to expect in connection with his home life. Do the workers whom you know possess them? If not, why not? Who is to blame?

196. Right Conditions of Work. — No one can do his best work if he is not feeling well. A good factory will therefore be properly ventilated and lighted. It will be kept as clean as possible. It will have rest rooms and lavatories. If the workers can do just as good work sitting down as standing,



Courtesy U. S. Steel Corporation

BEFORE THE MACHINERY WAS PROTECTED

seats will be supplied for use when it is not necessary for the employees to be on their feet. In mines air shafts, fans, and safety lamps are also essential.

We must have safeguards from physical harm. Belts must be protected so that a worker's hair, arms, or clothes will not be caught and the worker drawn into the machinery to painful injury or death. Saws and other dangerous parts of the machine should be properly guarded. Terrible agony and loss of life have in some cases occurred from fire, when

hundreds of workers tried to make their way out of danger by means of one or two narrow staircases. We must have plenty of fire escapes, plainly marked, so that if danger comes, nobody needs to delay in getting out. Many factories, too, have automatic sprinkling systems which reduce greatly the menace from this cause.

Few factories have reached perfection. Most of them are far from it. But some are more pleasant places to be in than the homes of some of their workers, and around many of

Courtesy U. S. Steel Corporation

AFTER THE MACHINERY WAS PROTECTED

them the grounds and surroundings look as attractive as those of a fine private residence. If the workers happen to become sick or are injured, they obtain medical attention promptly and are probably better cared for than if they were left to their own choice in the matter.

But in some forms of labor it is impossible to eliminate entirely all the undesirable conditions. The men who work around the great blast furnaces, for instance, cannot enjoy good ventilation, and the dangers which come from their leaving

the extreme heat of the furnace room for the coolness of the outdoors are many. But it is for us to see that the employer does all he can to make working conditions as good as possible, if he does not do this of his own free will.

Many evils from certain kinds of labor have already been done away with. Formerly it was very dangerous to work in a match factory. The disease called "phossy jaw" was frequent. But as a result of an act of Congress white or poisonous phosphorus is no longer used in making matches and the danger has practically disappeared.

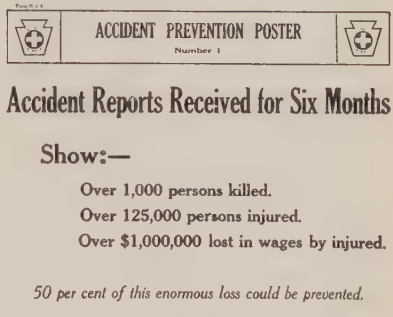
In other industries where the filing of brass is required or where arsenic or mercury is used, the workmen are forced to wear safety appliances of some kind to prevent them from inhaling poisonous fumes or other dangerous substances. In fact, great steps are being taken in the right direction through our legislatures. It remains for both the employer and his workmen to do their part in carrying out these laws.

Perhaps the worst possible conditions of labor are to be found in what is commonly termed a "sweatshop." By this we mean a place where many people work for long hours and low wages in surroundings not fit for any purpose. Ready-made clothing, cheap cigars, and artificial flowers are the commodities most often made in such places. Often whole families, from the mother down to the youngest child, have engaged in such toil for twelve or even fifteen hours a day, while their pay might be only fifty or sixty cents. Disease has been common and contagion has often spread not only among the workers, but also among the people who use garments made in such places.

Many states have passed laws to remedy this evil, requiring that all places of work shall have a sufficient supply of air and light. Like all other laws they must be enforced in order to be of any use. The public, too, can do its part by refusing to buy products made in sweatshops. Only by an active interest on the part of all can we hope to abolish such undesirable conditions.

Mention some other trades which were once dangerous but are not any more. What caused the change? Mention some trades which are still dangerous to the workmen. Can conditions be remedied in any way? What circumstances might compel a family to work in a sweatshop? Who is to blame for such conditions? Can one tell if his clothing is made in a sweatshop? Is it any of your business how the things you use are produced?

197. Social Insurance. — Any measure which aims to promote the well-being of the people and to save them from unnecessary inconvenience and suffering by reason of illness, accident, loss of employment, and the like, is a form of *social insurance*. Perhaps because the proportion of workers in European countries who have earned just barely enough to make a living is greater than in our own country, such nations as Great Britain and Germany have done much more in this respect than we have. Surely we do not want the reputation of being more careless of the lives of our people than other nations are.


ACCIDENT PREVENTION POSTER
Number 1
Accident Reports Received for Six Months
Show:—
Over 1,000 persons killed.
Over 125,000 persons injured.
Over $1,000,000 lost in wages by injured.
50 per cent of this enormous loss could be prevented.
Do your work in a safe way.
Is it not worth while?
COMMONWEALTH OF PENNSYLVANIA
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR AND INDUSTRY
JOHN PRICE JACKSON, Commissioner

There is hardly an occupation that does not have some condition or feature which tends to undermine the health — some occupations much more than others, of course. To prevent workers from getting into occupations for which they are clearly disqualified, some establishments require a physical examination or a physician's certificate before the work is undertaken and perhaps at regular intervals afterward.

The accident problem is also never-ending. The "safety first" campaigns which we have mentioned have done much good, but even the careful workman sometimes gets hurt. To prevent the want which often comes upon the worker and his family in cases like this, many of the states have *Workman's Compensation* Laws. Under their provisions the employer must assume the responsibility for insuring his employees so

that in case they are injured while at work a certain amount a week will be paid to them, and also a sum to their families if death results. A force of state inspectors or referees is necessary to hear complaints in case abuses under this act are charged.

The money for this purpose is provided by the employer and the state jointly in some cases; but often an employer who wishes to do so may insure his workers in a private insurance company. This compulsory insurance of workers, like almost every other public improvement, is really paid for by the public in the form of higher prices for the products of the industry. But they may as well pay it that way as to have to pay taxes to provide charity for an injured worker or his family. Besides, it is much pleasanter and more satisfactory for those who have to suffer.

A form of social insurance which we have not yet adopted in this country to any great extent is *old-age pensions*. Modern business has a tendency to force men to withdraw from active work at a time when they may still have a number of years to live. If a worker has not saved up very much when he has to retire, he may have to suffer want or else knowingly put himself on the charity of his relatives. To remedy this condition England and some other countries have provided for giving old people, in case they are able to earn little or nothing, a pension just about large enough to keep them alive.

The most common instances of this kind of thing which we have here are the pension funds maintained by some cities and states for firemen, policemen, and teachers. Since such people are public servants and usually do not get large salaries, though they render valuable service, it is urged that a pension fund for them is not charity but simply a part of the compensation to which they are justly entitled. Even at that, a part of their regular salaries is usually saved out to put into these funds. In several of our states, we also have laws which provide funds for *mothers' pensions*. The purpose of these laws is to prevent families from being broken up and to permit decent living where the mother would otherwise have to go out to work and let her children be uncared for, except during the hours while they were in school.

Social insurance is in the long run a money-saving proposition for the employer and the public, and a life-saving proposition for the worker. The employer has fewer lawsuits to

trouble him, and he gets better work from more healthy and contented workers. The public's welfare is also promoted when workers do their best and when any feeling of injustice among them is reduced to its lowest point. The workers are relieved from part of the worries which they cannot fail to experience when misfortune or old age arrives. Social insurance is not only humanity but good policy all around. It is one more form of coöperation. We need to be on our guard against it only to see that it is not abused so as to make workers lazy, careless, or spendthrifts.

Do you believe in mothers' pension laws? Do firemen, policemen, and teachers deserve pensions more than other workers? What effect, if any, would it have upon you if you knew you were in a position where you might take advantage of some of these forms of social insurance? Can you suggest a way to distinguish between a person who is out of a job because he cannot find work and one who is too lazy to get a job?

We hear a good deal in these days about a "living wage" or even a "saving wage." Labor organizations frequently make this the basis of their arguments for increases in pay. No one will deny the justice of enabling workers to live decently and to save something for a rainy day. But it is often difficult to decide just what is a living or saving wage. A living wage for a person who has a family to support would naturally have to be considerably greater than for a single man or woman. But in most occupations it is out of the question to pay a married worker more than a single worker, merely because he is married. Yet to pay every worker enough to support a family would add a heavy burden to industry and would inevitably cause prices to be raised to an exceedingly unpleasant point. This is another one of the many problems which we have not yet been able to solve in such a way as to please everybody, or to warrant us even to feel that we know what we ought to do.

198. Problems of Child Workers. — A serious menace to our national life is child labor. Thousands of children under

sixteen are employed at hard work for many hours a day in the mills, mines, canneries, and in various forms of agricultural work in this country. Now what is it that has forced these

Picking Cotton in Texas

Child labor does not appear to be forbidden here Perhaps this is not in school time, however.

children out into the industrial world before they have secured any real foundations to begin life?

The greed of employers is often the cause. They are often quite willing to take children to do their work, especially when children are paid so much less than men. The financial condition of the home often seems to justify the children's going to work. The family may be large and the father's income too small to supply the necessary food and clothing. Espe-

cially on a farm, the father may think his boys ought to help him as soon as they are strong enough to do the work.

Sometimes, however, the parents themselves are lazy, and they put their children to work so that they themselves may lead an easier life. They do not seem to realize the wrong they are doing and the children cannot prevent it, for they are ignorant of the real situation. Then again, boys and girls about twelve or thirteen sometimes begin to get restless and think school is dull and uninteresting. They desire to get a job and to do something that seems real to them, even though by entering industry they often lose all chance of ever becoming really successful in life.

The ruinous effects of child labor are many. First of all, any child who is forced to work long hours sitting or standing in one position is likely to stunt his body and dull his mind so that he can never become the strong, healthy person he was intended to be. Besides, when these children grow up, their children in turn are almost certain to be weak physically and mentally. Thus the health of future generations is impaired.

Child labor has a disastrous effect on the condition of all labor. It lowers the wage standard of older workers. Ignorant and unskilled laborers cannot do their work as well as intelligent workmen. In the end the employer himself is the one who pays, for his greed brings him only inferior and inefficient work.

Then society as a whole suffers. The education of child workers is almost impossible. If a child works all day in the factory, he cannot be in school, and he is usually too tired to study at night. He is also in danger of making acquaintances that are, to say the least, not helpful, of acquiring low ideals, and of developing either a faultfinding or a stupid disposition.

With citizens of this sort we surely cannot hope to have an enlightened government. They are among the number who must decide what the future of this country shall be. How can they perform this duty well when, often through no fault

of their own, they have been deprived of all that tends to make them good citizens?

But our government has now realized the seriousness of the problem. Today all the states have some laws concerning child labor, although not all these laws are really effective. As a rule, the law requires that children must not work over eight hours a day. They must be at least fourteen years of age before taking regular employment, and if they are below sixteen they must attend a continuation school. Thus they are forced to receive at least a little education. Congress tried to assist by levying a high tax on products of child labor which are transported in interstate commerce, thus making child labor unprofitable to the employer. The only place you can make some men feel anything is in their pocketbooks. But the Supreme Court declared this law unconstitutional, on the ground that this is a matter for the states to deal with.

Is it good for children to loaf? Should children do anything while attending school? If so, how much? What can city children do? What can country children do? Why is it that some of our child labor laws are not effective? What laws on this subject does your state have? Would it be well to amend our national Constitution so that there could be no doubt about the right of Congress to legislate against child labor?

199. Problems of Women Workers. — In very early times women were looked upon almost as necessary drudges. Even today in some foreign countries much of the hard, manual labor is done by the women. But such a condition has never existed in this country. In fact, until about seventy-five years ago few women were engaged in any industry in the United States except on the farm. Even then teaching school and keeping boarders were considered the only genteel occupations for them if they had to support themselves.

But the opening of factories created a demand for workers. Women then entered permanently this new field. Owing to the scarcity of labor during the Great War, when so many of our men entered war service, some employers were forced to

take women if they wished to continue their business. Women then gained a position in the industrial world which they had never enjoyed before. Women are in business to stay, for there are many things which they can do as well as the men can, or even better.

But women, as a rule, are not so strong physically as men. They cannot stand the strain of certain kinds of work or of

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ASSEMBLING WATCH MOVEMENTS, WALTHAM, MASS.

Delicate work like this can be better done by women than by men.

exceptionally long hours. So it is generally agreed that some special labor laws are needed with reference to women. In many states they may not be employed in factories more than 54 hours a week, and in some industries may not be employed at all.

For their benefit, too, in many states we have *minimum wage* laws. These set a figure below which no employer is permitted to go in paying women workers. Women who need to work have often been willing to take very low pay rather than

not get employment. This fact has in some cases reduced the standard of pay for men and has brought some of the women workers into temptation to supplement their scanty income by undesirable means. It is sometimes urged by way of objection to the minimum wage law that an employer will pay only the minimum wage that he is required to pay by law. But in the long run employers will pay what they must pay to get efficient workers, whether women or men. The minimum wage law simply helps to prevent soulless employers from taking an unfair advantage of their weaker workers.

The Supreme Court disappointed most people who are interested in the welfare of workers when it declared unconstitutional a minimum wage law for women in the District of Columbia. It declared, among other things, that women do not need special protection. It has not yet passed judgment on any such law made by a state, and it remains to be seen whether it will rule that states also may not enact such measures.

Another serious problem is the effect on the home of women's going into industry. If the home life is destroyed when the mother finds such outside interests, the result is indeed unfortunate. The home life and spirit should be maintained at all costs. Neither money-making nor a "career" is sufficient compensation for taking out of a girl's ambition the thought of having some day a home of her own.

Mention some occupations in which women will never engage to any great extent; some for which they are particularly fitted. Do you think business has benefited by women's coming into it? In what ways may it have been good for women? Does the "business girl" or the "working girl" have any particular problems which other girls and young women do not have? Why are so few American girls willing to do "house-work" for pay? Does a woman housekeeper in a family deserve as good pay as any other woman worker? Does she get it? Should women be paid as much as men if they do the same kind and quality of work?

Because many workers cannot control the conditions under which they work, laws have been found necessary to force the selfish sort of employers to provide safe and healthful surroundings. Social insurance, through accident compensation and pension laws, helps to relieve workers from want and suffering in emergencies. Women and children need particular protection to assure health and opportunity for decent living.

SPECIAL TOPICS

Women's Work in War and Peace.
The Ideal Stenographer.
Special Problems of Farm Labor.
Housekeeping on the Farm.
Problems of the City Housewife.
The "Servant" Problem.
Factory Work in 1925.
Factory Work in 1850.
Child Labor, North and South.
Child Labor Laws of Our State.
Children's Work in the Home.
Women's Labor Laws in Our State.
Workmen's Compensation Acts in Our State.
Resolved, that our state should adopt a system of old age pensions.
Accidents in Mines and on Railroads.
Safety-First Campaigns.
Resolved, that women should regularly receive the same pay that men receive for the same quality of work.
Henry Ford: His Business and His Workers.

READINGS

Marshall and Lyon — Our Economic Organization, Chapter 24.
Carver — Elementary Economics, Chapters 43, 44, 46.
Carlton — Elementary Economics, Chapters 16, 17, 19.
Lessons in Community and National Life, A–5, A–9, B–11, B–28, C–29, C–30.
Burch — American Economic Life, Chapters 16, 17.
Thompson — Elementary Economics, Chapter 28.

CHAPTER XXVIII

CAN WE IMPROVE OUR METHODS?

"Modern economic society is not secure without the leaven of generous social impulses and instincts." — Swiggett.

200. Facts That We Must Face. — There is a fable which tells of a mocking bird caroling gayly in a treetop, who, when asked why he sang so loudly, replied: "How can I do anything else when the sky is so blue and the sun is so bright?" "Nothing in that," said a mole on the ground below, who had come up to the surface for a minute, "I have lived too long not to know that there is nothing in the world except grass roots and fish-worms."

Now each of these saw only a part of the things that existed. We need not be like the mole who saw nothing but unpleasant things. Neither should we shut our eyes or look away from the unpleasant things that do exist. There are things in the world that are wrong and that need to be corrected.

There is *unfair distribution of wealth.* We do not mean that everybody ought to have the same amount of wealth. If it were evenly divided once, it would be far from evenly divided the next morning. Some people never can keep a dollar. But some are born in surroundings of the lowest and most unattractive type. They have to struggle for mere existence against a most unfavorable environment, while others are born to a life of ease, surrounded by luxury and pleasure.

Competent investigators have estimated that 65 per cent — almost two-thirds — of the wealth of the country is owned by 2 per cent of the people. Some of these wealthy men have obtained their riches by means that, as far as we can see, are

honest. But we cannot help thinking that something is wrong when such a small number of people control the financial destinies of the whole nation.

There are also those who have piled up wealth which can be fairly regarded as blood money taken from the very lives of their workers. Others have taken advantage of the needs of the people to charge them outrageous prices for the necessities of life, or as landlords have imposed unjust burdens upon tenants who must pay or sleep in a vacant lot. There are children working for a few cents a day whose lives are being dwarfed and scarred by the hardness of their toil and the ugliness of their surroundings.

There is *abuse of wealth and opportunity.* Reckless extravagance we see on every hand. Some of those who have little try to imitate the rich in vain display. Children get the notion that the object of life is to see how little one can do that is hard. When they have to look out for themselves they do as they have seen their elders do, and conclude, as one has put it, to wait for a situation with the emphasis on the "sit." Then there are others who are engaged at labor that is worth while, but who deliberately limit their work and insist on doing much less than they could easily do.

There are *political wrongs.* There is less personal dishonesty than there used to be in politics, but grafters are still found. Politicians are sometimes powerful enough to deny office and honor to men who think for themselves and refuse to take orders. Men in office and men out of office sometimes vote for party rather than for right.

There is *ill will between classes.* The native American sometimes calls the foreigner a "wop" or a "dago" and refuses to help him become anything else. The rich man sometimes looks with scorn on the fellow who works with his hands. Whether it is right or wrong, in most communities we find three more or less marked elements among the people.

First there are the poor — the great mass of the common people, whom Abraham Lincoln said God must have loved

because He made so many of them. They cannot save much, for their income is nearly all used up in keeping alive. Their families average larger than those who are better off financially. Some of these people have learned to call themselves the "proletariat." Some of them hate the rich and have begun to talk of the "class conflict" as if it were impossible for rich and poor to get on together in harmony.

Next come the families of the middle class, which is often called "the backbone of the nation." They are somewhat like the "bourgeois" class of Europe. They are the small business men, the professional men, the clerks, the farmers, a vitally important element in a nation. Yet, looked down upon by the greedy rich man, despised by the discontented, ill-advised poor man, they sometimes wonder what they are coming to.

Then come the rich with their high standards of living and perhaps extravagance. Beautiful mansions, costly food, and extravagant expenses for clothing and amusement we usually connect with our thought of them, though some of our very richest men live plainly and simply. These are the people who control our great corporations and who have the money to invest in enterprises that will bring in large and sure returns.

201. The Government and Public Utilities. — Now if some things are wrong what are we going to do about it? One of the most common suggestions for making conditions better is that the great public utilities which mean so much to the lives of all of us, whether in city or in country, should be kept strictly under the control of the government. Almost all of us have accepted the theory that it is the social duty of the government to regulate these activities.

But what do we mean by *public utilities?* These are activities which render services of vital importance to the people, which are supposed to be open to the use of all on the same terms, and which cannot exist without authority from the national, state, or local government. Railroads, telephone and

telegraph companies, electric light companies, and water companies, are all examples of public utilities.

To operate any of these, persons or corporations must obtain a *franchise*. This is a grant from some governmental authority, city or state for instance, authorizing the use of the streets or some other public property for carrying on a certain business. There was a time when people were so glad to have improvements undertaken that they granted franchises "in perpetuity" or for such ridiculously long times as 99 or even 999 years. Too often a corporation which got such a generous franchise failed to render the service which it was expected to perform and yet kept closely enough to the terms of its franchise so that its privileges could not be taken away. City governments and city people have suffered many wrongs from the mismanagement or dishonesty that has sometimes occurred in such corporations.

Today when franchises are granted they are seldom given for a very long time, though they may be renewed. It is often provided that if the profits of the corporation exceed a certain amount, the city shall get some benefit from them. Most of these corporations are subject to the supervision of the State Public Service Commission or Public Utilities Commission and cannot change their rates or charges without the consent of this commission.

To what extent do public utilities cause any problems in your community?

202. Government Ownership and Operation. — In a great many communities the supplying of water has become a part of the services of the local government. Our national government has always operated the post office as a part of its regular work. Some people feel that it would be better for all concerned if the industries which are of vital importance to everybody were managed by the government directly. Railroads, telegraphs, telephones, coal mines, even some important sources of food supply, are so essential to a nation's life that

there may be some real danger if they are left wholly under the control and operation of private individuals. In many European countries the railroads, telegraphs, and telephones are looked upon as just as naturally a part of the public busi-

Coal Cars Waiting to Be Filled

Such "industries" as are represented here are most often proposed to be "nationalized" or "socialized." Do you think people in general would be better served if that were done?

ness as the post office, and in England and elsewhere there has been much talk about the "nationalization" of the coal mines.

The principal arguments for the ownership and operation of public utilities by the government are as follows:

(1) The service can be cheaper because the business can be run simply at cost. Or if we prefer to make money on it, the profit can be used to reduce other taxes.

(2) The service will be under centralized supervision and control. Combinations which could not be safely allowed to private corporations can be permitted when the government exercises such control. We can have all the advantages of monopoly without its disadvantages.

(3) There will be an unlimited amount of capital available, for the entire resources of the country will be back of whatever enterprise the government engages in.

(4) Putting all the employees under civil service rules will result in a higher standard of service.

(5) Control of labor and rate problems and the settlement of them on the basis of strict justice will be easier than under private operation.

(6) Government regulation as a means of preventing evil in these industries is always awkward and complicated.

On the negative side of the proposition these are the most common arguments:

(1) Government operation is never as well done as private management of the same thing. People working for the government are proverbially careless and wasteful, not to mention practices known as "graft."

(2) The taking over of these great industries would require the government to assume an enormous debt, unless we should seize them outright, which would be very unfair to the million or more people who have invested their savings in them.

(3) To establish a great nation-wide monopoly would do away with the competition which is one of the chief spurs to business progress.

(4) Politics would enter into the management of the business, and the employees of these industries would constitute a great body of three or four million men and women who could act together in politics in a way that would be dangerous to the welfare of the rest of the people.

(5) To depend upon Congress or a state or city government to provide funds intelligently for conducting these enterprises would be out of the question. They would not know enough about the business to do it themselves and they are seldom willing to take advice from those who do know. No good business man would care to assume responsibility for managing an enterprise under such conditions.

We must look upon this proposition of government ownership and operation of industries or public utilities as still an open question. During the War the railroads, telegraphs, and telephones were under government operation for a while in order to make them more useful to the country for carrying on the War. Much fault was found with the way this govern-

ment operation was carried on. But it was done under such difficult circumstances that we cannot judge how successful it might have been in normal times. We must notice, too, that what we had was *government operation* under *private ownership,* which is a much more difficult situation to deal with than government ownership and operation.

Now that these activities are in private hands again we have another chance to see what private management can do. If it succeeds in giving good service without raising the rates very much, probably there will be little demand for government ownership and operation for a while. If it does not do this, people may conclude that government operation was not so much of a failure after all. Especially if labor disputes should be frequent, government ownership will undoubtedly be actively advocated again.

In what ways was or was not the government operation of the railways during the War a fair test of this proposition?

Is it good argument to cite the post office as proof that government ownership and operation have been successful?

203. What the Socialist Wants. — One growing class of people demands much more extensive changes than merely government ownership of railroads, telegraphs, or telephones. These are the Socialists. The Socialist believes that the present system of industry is wrong. Capital controls all production and should therefore be possessed by the state, says he. Every industry on which the mass of the people depend for their well-being should be operated by the state, which should see to it that everybody has a fair opportunity to work and to get a fair return for his labor. Then there would be no tyranny or injustice in the world of industry. The interest of one would be the interests of all. There would be no classes, since all productive toil would be considered worthy.

The theory sounds very pleasing when presented by a winning speaker or to an audience that is " sore " at the present state of society. When we think it over, however, the question comes to us, Who has the brains and unselfishness

to make the system work? Surely a tremendous responsibility would rest upon those who were in charge of affairs under a socialistic system. Would not *any* system work if people generally practiced the Golden Rule and if men in positions of influence possessed the intelligence and broadmindedness necessary to make Socialism succeed?

Of course we must admit that it is easier to do good under some circumstances than others. If Socialism would make it easier to do justice to all men, we ought to consider the idea seriously. It is but fair, too, to judge the principles of Socialism by its thoughtful, high-minded advocates as well as by the selfish, ignorant people who so often preach it.

The real Socialist does not advocate dividing up all the money equally, or getting rid of all private property. Neither is he an Anarchist. The Anarchist wants all organized government removed, but the Socialist wants the state to be all-important.

Some Socialists in the United States were disloyal during the Great War, and naturally people assumed that Socialist principles in other respects must be bad. Some Socialists, too, have been opposed to the Christian church, but there is no reason whatever why Socialism and religion should oppose each other. To some, indeed, the true Socialism seems to be simply putting into practice the lofty teachings of Christ.

It is undoubtedly best that whatever good there is in Socialism should be introduced gradually, rather than to upset everything by establishing the whole system at once. Let us not assume that everything new is undesirable, or that because we do not like some people we should refuse to listen to what they have to say. They may have an idea worth while.

Find out something about the extent to which Socialism has succeeded in Europe. Socialist parties there are much larger than here. Why do you suppose that is so? Do you know any ministers, religious workers, or business men who are Socialists? Ask some of such people why they do or do not believe in Socialism. How would Socialism affect the following: farmers, teachers, bankers, coal miners, grocers, actors, office employees? Would you or they be as ambitious and enterprising under Socialism as you are now? Is the public school system a form of Socialism?

204. Those Who Would Overturn Things. — There are other people who are much more radical than the intelligent Socialists. Perhaps we should understand what is meant by this word "radical." We have come to think of it as signifying an idea or a person that is so far out of sympathy with existing conditions as to favor extreme measures to bring about

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PROFESSIONAL TRAMPS

These fellows make no pretense at earning a living. Do they look as if they deserve sympathy from anybody?

a change. Because in many countries a red flag has been used as a standard of such people, the most extreme among them have been nicknamed the "Reds."

One class of radicals are the *communists* of today. They want to do away with private property entirely. "What's mine is yours, and what's yours is mine," they say, though they often forget the first part of the theory. All property is to be owned in common, and the wealth that has been saved up by individuals is to be divided again. We have had some experiments in communism on a small scale in this country.

The Englishman Robert Owen came over here to try out the idea in a new land and several settlements were founded by those who took kindly to his ideas. He honestly wanted to give everybody an equal chance and to make it possible for everybody to be happy. But the "communities" which were

A Steel Mill at Night

Scenes like this one at Vandergrift, Pennsylvania, are not easy to forget. How do you suppose the I. W. W. would run such a place as this?

undertaken by those who sympathized with him seldom lasted long.

In the United States the "I.W.W.," the so-called Industrial Workers of the World, are now the most numerous examples of extreme radicals. What they advocate may be judged from a quotation or two from the preamble of their constitution:

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common." "Between these two a struggle must go on until the workers of the world take possession of the earth and the machinery of producing and abolish the wage system." Such people have a great deal to say about "class consciousness." There is no thought among them of coöperation — it is simply one class ruling the rest. To get power into their hands they are willing to take extreme

measures. They speak of "direct action," by which they mean destruction of property, threatening or taking of life, or any other means that will scare or force people to let them have their way. When they do not dare to go so far as this openly, they may indulge in *sabotage*. By this term is meant any underhanded means of harming an employer, by damaging machinery, causing imperfections in the product, or doing other things which will hurt his business.

It is hard to see how a right-thinking American can possibly indulge in such performances or hold such theories. A decent man finds it difficult to sympathize with even oppressed people who use any such means to have their grievances corrected.

Among what classes of people might you expect to find such notions most common? Is the rich man at all to blame for the existence of them? What is the best way to treat such people?

The Great War gave an opportunity for one of the radical schemes for reorganizing government and society to be tried out. After the government of the Czar had been overthrown in Russia, the people, being utterly tired of war, were ready to submit to almost anybody who had a definite program to propose that was different from what they had been having. Two able and unscrupulous leaders, Lenin and Trotsky, took advantage of the opportunity. The scheme of things which they put into practice is usually called *Bolshevism*, from the name of the radical party in Russian affairs at the time — the Bolsheviki.

The underlying idea of their system is that the state is all-powerful and that all the essential forms of industry shall be controlled and regulated by it. The government is declared to be in the hands of those whom they call the "workers" — and that means chiefly the manual laborers in the towns, who, except for the peasants, are in the majority in Russia. People who employ others or who live by means of income which they do not earn have no part in the government.

Authority in this system is exercised through soviets. A *soviet* is a group of persons who are chosen by the various classes of people in a district to represent them, such as workmen, soldiers, or peasants. Representatives of local soviets are supposed to constitute the governing body for the nation.

The Bolshevist government in Russia has already lasted longer than many people thought possible. It is hard to find out what is really good and what is bad in their system. But it looks to us like the rule of all the people by one class, and it is not democratic for any class to rule. Americans are not willing to make themselves

slaves of the state to the extent that Bolshevism seems to demand.

Did you ever meet a person who seemed honestly to hold the doctrines of the Bolshevists? What kind of person was he? Have you heard any person speak who had actually been in Russia during the Bolshevist rule? What was his opinion about conditions there?

The *Anarchist* wants to go still further than any of these others. He wants all the present organized governments overthrown. Then, he says, everybody will be free to form such groups and enter into such arrangements as will best suit his welfare. Perhaps the best we can say for the Anarchist is that most of us cannot imagine how a sane and honest man can accept any such proposition. The conduct of Anarchists up to date convinces us that they are lacking in one or both of these qualities. No civilized people can tolerate them.

205. How Better Times Come. — Very few great changes in history which were permanent came through a sudden outburst or violent change. Of course there were notable events which brought a situation to a climax, but they did not occur out of nothing. Advancement has been wrought by a steady evolution. Always there are two forces at work, progress and conservatism. In fact we can divide all mankind into two classes — the contented and the discontented — though the reason why we put a person in either group will vary greatly in the case of different individuals.

In the group of the contented we shall find such people as these:

(1) Those who know that conditions are not perfect, but who are afraid that a change would upset the good things which they have — "It is better to be safe than to be sorry," they argue;

(2) Those who have everything they want and naturally have no fault to find with things as they are;

(3) Those who take too little interest in the world's progress to care whether conditions can be made better or not.

All these belong to the group which either wants no change or will do nothing to bring one about. Such people often speak of

themselves as conservatives. Those who dislike them often call them "stand-patters."

On the other side — the discontented — we find a variety of people:

(1) Those who have little or nothing, who think they could be no worse off by reason of any change, and who hope that somehow they would be lucky if a change took place, no matter what kind it might be;

(2) Those who are simply destructive or vengeful and who wish to "take it out" on the successful, not caring whether it is right to do so or not;

(3) Those who know that things may be made better and want to do whatever is necessary to make them so.

Is it desirable that we should have discontented people in the world? To some extent, yes. If there were no dissatisfied folks, the world would never make any progress. The world owes a great deal to people who have had the courage to break tradition and suffer persecution in order to give a new idea to it. The more there are in our third class of discontented people, the less likely shall we be to suffer wrong in silence or permit others to be wronged without protest. Such people are the real "salt of the earth." With the very conservative on one side to offset the very dissatisfied on the other, those who are not extreme in either direction, but are progressive in a sane, sensible fashion, can lead us to a standard of happiness such as we have never yet enjoyed.

From what you have observed of the following types of people in general, what would you expect their attitude to be: a retired banker, a farmer, a street sweeper, a mechanic, a preacher, a mill hand?

Many conditions among us are far from ideal. To remedy existing evils, some people believe that our government should own and operate such fundamental industries as railroads and coal mines. Some — the Communists — wish to abolish private property, and Anarchists want to do away with organized government. The experience of the world shows us that changes are best which come gradually, and that the surest progress is steady, rather than sudden.

SPECIAL TOPICS

Resolved, that railroads (or telephones and telegraphs) should be owned and operated by the federal government.

Resolved, that the national government should be given power to fix a maximum price for all food products.

Why I Am (or Am Not) a Socialist.

The History of the I.W.W.

A Review of Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward."

Some Notable American Socialists.

Russia Since 1917.

Karl Marx and His Ideas.

Experiments in Communism (*e.g.* Brook Farm; Robert Owen's "Communities"; the Shakers).

READINGS

Tufts — The Real Business of Living, pp. 62–65.

Thompson — Elementary Economics, Chapter 27.

Beard — American City Government, Chapter 8.

PART III: EXECUTING THE PEOPLE'S WILL

There remains one very important phase of our study. Our government is another one of the things we take for granted. We never knew the time when our government did not exist. But government logically comes as a result of the interests and activities we have been discussing. We do not elect officers and give them authority over us just for the sake of handing them dignity and power. Government forms a sort of connecting link that binds together all our other interests and adds some new ones. We have it because we have discovered that without it we cannot associate with our fellow-men as pleasantly and fairly as decent people desire, or carry on the activities which give us our living and supply us with "creature comforts." It is important, therefore, to understand something about the machinery we have to use. The worker in a factory who knows what he wants to do, but has never learned to use the tools with which to do it, is in a bad way. Let us pick out the important features of the organization of our government and learn something about the duties of its officers and our duties and privileges as citizens of our nation.

SOME FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES

CHAPTER XXIX

NEEDS AND FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

"That is the best government which desires to make the people happy and knows how to make them happy." — Macaulay.

206. A Community without Government. — Imagine yourself, if you can, in a community where no authority exists which people in general recognize as legal or binding. How long

would you want to stay there? You would find everybody doing as he pleased. There might be some whose conscience and courage were so strong that they would be pleased to treat their fellow-men fairly and seek no advantage for themselves which they were not willing that others should have. Others whose inclinations might be right would justify themselves in doing undesirable things simply because other people were doing the same, or excuse themselves on the ground of self-defense.

A considerable number would think of nothing except their own advantage. They would help themselves to the property of their neighbors; they would respect their neighbors' rights or interests in no way whatever. Those who were not physically strong enough to look out for themselves, or who had not the cunning to invent weapons to supplement their own powers, would be wholly at the mercy of the strong. It would be a case of the so-called "survival of the fittest," with the "fittest" meaning simply the strongest. And even the strong would not be wholly safe, for one strong man would contend with another strong man.

This is what the Anarchist wants and this is what he surely would get if there were no organized government in a community. How do you like the picture? Many a frontier town in the western part of our own country has had just a taste of this kind of life. It has never taken very long for its people to set up some sort of "vigilance committee" as a kind of impromptu government to act until something more permanent and substantial should be established. We must have government to put the force of *all* the good people of a community back of every *single* good citizen and enable him to live in peace.

Did your community ever pass through such a stage? Do you think it will ever be possible for communities to exist without any officers to direct their affairs? You all know that you are in school because your community believes that you will benefit by coming. What do you suppose would happen if all your principals and

teachers were absent at the same time? If you think that your school would go on just as usual, what would that mean with reference to your own progress in self-control? Why is it that people who ordinarily obey the laws will sometimes deliberately disobey them when they think that no official is around?

"Beef-Eaters" at Their Annual Inspection

These fellows are a sort of King's bodyguard, to attend him on state occasions. They are an interesting survival to the present of the customs of English monarchy centuries ago.

207. The Beginnings of Government. — It is easy enough to say that we need government. But just how the forms and customs of government were established we cannot tell. Several theories about it have been presented by different thinkers.

One of the earliest of these was that rulers obtained their authority directly from God. This was the *divine right* idea. In one sense it may be true that God permits certain people to exercise authority, but this doctrine has been used by altogether too many people in the past to justify their holding office — people whom we can hardly imagine as God's direct choice for anything.

Another idea is contained in the so-called *social contract* theory.

Men living in the same community are thought of as deliberately agreeing that certain persons should possess power and exercise authority among them. The Pilgrims did this in drawing up the famous Mayflower Compact before they landed on the New England coast. This doctrine is back of the teaching in our Declaration of Independence — that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

More probably there may not have been in the beginning any formal agreement to establish certain men in authority. Those who were strong and intelligent enough to be able to protect others would naturally receive some respect from those whom they protected. We have already referred to the way in which the family developed into the tribe, the tribe into the clan, and the clan into the state. As these various groups expanded, the most capable men just naturally took the lead and received the homage or submission of their followers. The exact form of government was determined by conditions as they came along. We may call this theory that of *political evolution.*

In many countries we can trace clearly certain courses of change in the matter of government. It is natural to find the early system of government centering in one strong man. If his successors were not strong or some of his followers became stronger, the leader's power might have to give way to the authority of a small group of strong or intelligent people.

As the masses of the people become more and more intelligent, they are not willing to submit to the authority of persons who have no other title to their leadership than that their fathers or grandfathers held the same office. The people therefore demand the right to choose their own officers. Thus in many communities the government, beginning with a monarchy, passes into an aristocracy and then becomes finally a democracy. A great many changes took place gradually rather than through a sudden overturn.

If you have studied ancient history, illustrate this change from the story of some of the Greek cities.

208. Forms of Government Today. — Now let us be sure what these different terms mean. A *monarchy* is a government carried on by one person or in the name of one person.

If one person possesses all authority we call it an *absolute* monarchy. If his power is restricted by a constitution or by the choice of other officials by the people, we have a *constitutional* or *limited* monarchy.

A government controlled by a small portion of the people may be called an *oligarchy*. If this small portion is made up of wealthy or intelligent persons or those who hold inherited titles, we usually style it an *aristocracy*.

When the powers of government are directly exercised by the people we have a *democracy*. If the people keep final authority

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LLOYD GEORGE MAKING A CAMPAIGN SPEECH

The famous English Prime Minister had just resigned his office and was engaged in a campaign for reelection. He is personally very popular.

in their own hands but elect officers to carry on the work of government we have a *republic*.

It is often hard to draw a sharp line and say, "This country is a democracy," for instance, "and that a republic." Indeed, we often speak of countries in which the people's will prevails in government as democracies, regardless of the precise form of the government. The spirit of the people means more than the political form which they give to their govern-

ment. In this sense England, which still has a king, is a democracy, and so is the United States, which has a republican form of government.

Neither are all republics or all monarchies organized just alike. In some of them almost all authority is *centralized* in the national government. This is the case in France, a centralized republic, and Italy, a centralized monarchy. The subdivisions of the country possess only such authority as the central government sees fit to allow them to exercise. Other governments, which we call *federated*, have been formed by the bringing together of political bodies which may once have been entirely independent of one another. A federated government, as we have already explained (§ 8), may be either a *confederation* or a *federation*. It may also be either a monarchy or a republic. Germany used to be a federated monarchy. The United States is a *federal republic*.

What changes in the form of governments have occurred in recent years? How much ought people to know about their own government? What kind of government would an ignorant people be likely to have or to prefer? What sort of people would probably prefer keeping the masses in ignorance?

Look up the meaning of *bureaucracy*, *autocracy*. Find from some textbook of history or book of reference, examples of the different kinds of government which we have mentioned. Real absolute monarchies have practically disappeared. Can you explain this fact? Why do you suppose the English people continue to have a king when his power has been reduced almost to zero?

209. What Our Governments Do for Us. — If everybody practiced the Golden Rule, we might get along passably well without very much government. But there are too many people who do not practice it. Moreover, good men often honestly disagree about many matters, and some way must be provided to decide whose views shall prevail. Besides, individuals by themselves find it wholly impossible to do many things which they can readily accomplish by acting together. We must have governments, then, to perform at least the following functions:

(1) To define and make known the rights and duties of individuals;

(2) To keep order and protect life and property;

(3) To enforce the performance of duties and punish, if necessary, those who disregard them;

(4) To regulate and conduct numerous activities which either cannot be performed by private activity or can be better performed by governmental action.

Under this last head are included such matters as the regulation of trade and industry, the construction of public buildings and of streets, the management of public schools, and many activities embraced in the so-called *police power* of government.

But here we have been talking about *government*. What do we mean by the word, anyway? It is the combined agency of laws, customs, and officers that carries on public business. It is made up of persons and ideas together. The rules which are made either by the people or for them, to direct their actions, are called *laws*.

Give at least one illustration of the way each of the functions of government affects you personally.

Learn the preamble of the national Constitution as a statement of the reasons why our national government was formed. Find a similar statement of purpose in your state constitution.

Who are "the people"?

Have all the people living in the United States today definitely given their "consent" to the government under whose authority we live? If not, is it or is it not true that our government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed? Does "the consent of the governed" mean *all* the governed? If not, just what does it signify?

The supreme power to form and exercise government is known as *sovereignty*. When we had absolute monarchies the king was supposed to or did possess this power. He was the "sovereign" in the fullest sense. Today in the United States, Great Britain, France, and most of the other enlightened nations this supreme power really rests with the people. Whatever authority officials exercise is possessed by them simply because the people have agreed that it should be entrusted to them.

When persons are chosen to act in behalf of others they are known as *representatives*. Completely democratic government, in which all laws are made by the people directly, is out of the question in large countries. Representative government must take its place in large measure. Indeed we sometimes speak of a republic as a representative democracy.

Most civilized countries are governed under a written *constitution*. This is a *fundamental* law which sets forth the most important facts about the form and powers of a government. Usually constitutions are made more difficult to change than ordinary laws. Ordinary laws may be enacted only in accordance with the general provisions in the constitution itself. Practically every political organization in the United States has some sort of constitution and would not know how to get along without it.

Great Britain, however, has no one document of this kind. The important laws, charters, and customs which have been handed down from the past and form the background of its government serve as a sort of constitution. We often speak of Great Britain's constitution as *unwritten*. With a people who are in the habit of respecting traditions and customs and not changing them on short notice, it is reasonably safe to get along without a definite written constitution. That seems to be true with Great Britain. But most countries prefer to set down in black and white in one fundamental document the great principles which underlie their government.

Do you think of any reason why the people of the United States should prefer to have a definite written constitution? Which kind is better for France? for China? for Germany? for Brazil? for any other countries that you think of?

Should we think of laws simply as means of restraining people? Do we have rules in school or in baseball for that reason? Do people ever obey laws for selfish reasons?

210. The Three Departments. — Every form of government works in three great fields of activity, which are known as the three departments of government. The *legislative* department makes the laws. The *executive* department puts the laws into operation. The *judicial* department determines the meaning of laws and makes decisions when people are accused of breaking them.

In the United States we have tried to distinguish and set apart these three departments in every grade of organized

government, from the federal government down to the smallest local organization. Just as Congress makes the laws for the whole nation, so the state legislature makes laws for the state and the council for the city. As the President is the chief executive of the nation, so each state has a governor and most cities a mayor to serve in a similar capacity for them. And the police magistrates or aldermen or justices of the peace perform in a humble way the judicial services for a city or town just as truly as the thoroughly organized courts of the state and the nation do in their respective spheres.

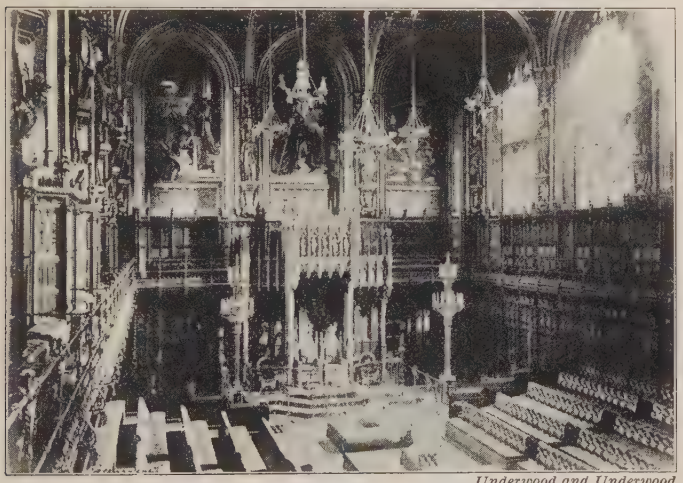
Put the facts above in the form of a table or diagram, fixing it so as to fit your own state and locality.

In practice we do not always find it easy to keep these three departments entirely separate. Our forefathers were afraid that one department might some time become so strong as to endanger the liberties of the people unless it should be restrained in some way. They worked out, therefore, an elaborate system of *checks and balances* to avert this danger.

The President may veto a bill passed by Congress or the Supreme Court may set it aside if the justices believe its provisions are contrary to the Constitution. Congress, in turn, has the right to start "impeachment" proceedings against a president, a judge, or any other federal officer. If such an official is found guilty of the charges of misconduct made against him, he will be removed. In most state and city governments there are similar arrangements. In fact, so fully "checked" are most of our public officials that we need not worry about any serious encroachment on the liberties of the people by any one branch of the government. There may be a real danger that we have checked some of them so much that they cannot do anything thoroughly.

Can you find legislative, executive, and judicial departments in your home, your church, your school, or a big business concern? Are there any "checks and balances" in these organizations? If not, why not?

211. The Great States of the World. — We ought to know a little about the government of some of the other great countries of the world. While most Americans believe that our government is for our purposes better than any other form,



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THE INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS

From the throne in front the King of England makes a formal speech at the opening of a new session of Parliament.

we should not think that there are no other good forms of government.

Let us look first at Great Britain, for it is from that source that many of the features of our own government have been derived. Great Britain still has her King, but his political duties now consist simply in doing the things that he believes the British people want him to do. If he is a likable and intelligent fellow personally, he will have considerable influence in public affairs, but it will be for that reason and not merely because he has inherited the office of King.

The law-making body in the British government is the Parliament. Its two branches are the House of Lords and the House of Commons. The Lords inherit their titles or are presented with them by the government. The members of the House of Commons

are chosen by popular vote on the same principle that our law-makers are elected. The power of the House of Lords has very greatly declined, so that in law-making it is no longer of great importance. The Cabinet, headed by the Prime Minister, really controls the political business of the country, and is composed of members of Parliament who belong to the leading party in the House of Commons (§ 218). The most prominent member of this party is picked out by the King for the office of Prime Minister, if he will accept the honor.

France is a republic, but its government differs in a number of respects from ours. Its law-making branch is made up of a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. These two houses elect the President. The President, however, has much less influence in the government than our own President. France has a Cabinet system very much like that of England, and the Prime Minister, rather than the President, is the real head of the government as long as he can stay in office.

The Great War changed Germany from one of the proudest empires in the world into a republic whose future at present is somewhat uncertain. No longer is the Kaiser the head of the German government, but there is a President whose powers are somewhere between those of the French President and our own. Germany also has a Cabinet system, the head of which is called a Chancellor. Its chief law-making body, the Reichstag, is chosen by the people.

Italy's government does not differ greatly in form from that of France, except that it still has a king instead of a president. Japan modeled its present government rather closely on that of England. The same changes have been taking place in that country which England passed through during the last century. The power of the emperor or Mikado has been decreasing, and the same is true of their House of Peers, which corresponds to the English House of Lords. Their House of Representatives has powers much like our own House of Representatives or the British House of Commons.

Several countries, as well as some of the great British colonies, have modeled their governments in part after our own and in part after that of Great Britain. The Cabinet system of government prevails in Australia, Canada, and South Africa. But in Australia they call the two parts of the Parliament the Senate and the House of Representatives as we do.

Several of the countries of Central and South America tried to model their government after that of the United States but some of them did not understand what popular government really meant. All of them seem now to be settling down and some of

them have won a recognized place among the notable nations of the world. Brazil, Chile, and Argentina, at least, feel that they have no reason to apologize to any one for the soundness and quality of their government.

212. The Progress of Democracy. — Every nation that calls itself civilized has been moving very clearly in the direction of government by the people. A century or so ago democracy did not mean just what it does today. When the United States began operating under the present Constitution, only a very small part of the people had the right to vote. In some states there were still religious requirements. In almost all of them the voter had to own a considerable amount of property. Only free men could vote. That meant that probably one-sixth of the population were without votes, because they were negro slaves.

The first restrictions to be removed were those that depended upon religion. Gradually the requirement that a voter must own property was reduced until it has in most states been entirely removed. But still in some states voters must pay taxes either on their occupation or on their property or on themselves. The Civil War brought about the removal of the qualifications based on color. It set the slaves free and gave them equal rights in voting with white people.

Still there remained one-half of the population who were denied the right to take part in public affairs through the vote. Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone, and other early workers for woman suffrage were ridiculed and sometimes ill-treated when they tried to tell the men that there was no justice in classifying all women with criminals, children, and idiots, as unfit to be voters. Just as the Civil War brought the ballot to the negro, so the Great War gave the ballot to American women. Woman suffrage was not one of the matters about which the war was fought, but when women showed by their activity and courage that they were as good and patriotic citizens as the men, most of the opposition to their voting faded away.

So now every American over 21 years of age, who is not a criminal or mentally diseased, can become a voter if he or she wishes. In many other countries similar changes have occurred. Some countries still grant titles of nobility and permit those to continue which have been held by the fathers and grandfathers or more remote ancestors of those who possess them now. But when a title is now given, it is as a reward for some actual public service.

EQUAL SUFFRAGE

There is no reason why a man and wife cannot take the same interest in voting together as in going to church or attending to any other matter in which they have a common interest.

Some one may still ask the question, "Is democracy the best form of government?" Naturally *we* think so. It may not always be the most efficient form, because it is not always easy to convince the whole body of voters of a nation that a certain policy is wise. Yet people usually prefer to take a chance on having government possibly a little less efficient if they can be sure that they have a free government. They feel that they are no more likely to make mistakes as a mass than some one monarch might make on his own account. Democracy works best, and some would say works safely, only among a highly intelligent and educated people. There is very great risk in letting backward and inexperienced people suddenly set up a democracy, just as it is poor policy to allow a baby to play with a jack-knife.

"The world must be made safe for democracy" was a

slogan which President Wilson gave to the free nations fighting side by side in the Great War. Just as we have said in our own country with reference to our own states, "United we stand, divided we fall," so we might truly say about the democracies of the world. They must work together or their hopes for their own people will be blighted.

Would an absolute monarchy governed by a wise and good man have any advantages over a republic composed of half-educated people without experience in self-government? What has been the matter with Mexico in recent years? Is the same kind of government suitable for all countries? How will you decide what kind of government is needed in any particular place? Could tyranny ever exist in this country? Is a majority vote always cast on the right side?

Government is necessary to the maintenance of peace and order. It has grown out of men's needs, and has taken many different forms. As time advances, the people more and more wish to retain authority in their own hands, though they elect representatives to administer public business. Democracy is, after all, a thing of the spirit rather than of the form.

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Benefits and Dangers of Democracy.

How the Form of Government Has Changed in England, France, Japan, or Germany.

The Effects of the Great War on the Governments of the World.

The Best Form of Government for Us.

What My Government Does for Me.

READINGS

Tufts — The Real Business of Living, pp. 55–62, Chapter 37.

Beard — American Citizenship, Chapter 1.

CHAPTER XXX

GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

"Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and inseparable."
—Webster.

213. Our Political Background. — The background of American history and American government is English. The form of our government was suggested either directly from that of England or from the experiences of the states which had made use of English customs in working out their own governments.

When the people of the American colonies in 1775 went into open rebellion against the authority of the English king, they announced that they were fighting simply for their rights as Englishmen. Openly at least they did not talk of independence until the Revolution had been several months under way. The rights of Englishmen which had come to be cherished by the English colonies in America were no different from those which Englishmen had cherished in the Old Country. Vigorous struggles had wrested from tyrannical kings the Great Charter (Magna Charta) of 1215, and the Petition of Right of 1629, and King William III voluntarily signed the great Bill of Rights of 1689. Some of the words of this Bill of Rights appear in our own Constitution. It simply happened that in 1776 the majority of the people of England did not seem to realize that the denial of English rights to the colonists by George III and the Parliament of that day would endanger their own rights at home.

The customs of the English courts and the principles of English law which had been established during centuries of experience were made the basis of the system of law and the

practices of courts in the United States. The system of trial by jury, which we think so necessary to our liberty, came directly to us from England. In only one state, Louisiana, are the established legal customs founded on anything else than those of England. Louisiana was so long under French rule that French influences made a lasting impression there.

Is it wise for a new country to pattern its government after one already in existence?

214. Government in Colonial Days. — You probably remember the different sorts of government which were set up in the English colonies along the Atlantic coast. Several of them during their colonial history passed through different stages.

Most numerous were the *crown* colonies, or *royal* colonies, whose governor was nominally appointed by the king. In the *proprietary* colonies, the person or persons who had received a grant of land from the king had charge of the province. The proprietor might, if he wished, be governor himself or he might appoint somebody for that purpose. The third type of colony is most often called the *charter* colony. These colonies elected their own governor and most of their other officers. Under their charter, granted by the king of England, they were almost completely self-governing. In every colony there was a law-making body, sometimes of one house and sometimes of two, elected by the voters of the colony. There were also courts.

When the colonies became states they usually kept the same general form of government which they had had before. The principal features which appeared in the later government of the United States were almost all suggested somewhere by the experiences through which the colonies passed in working out governments to suit their particular needs.

215. Forming a Union. — There was no such thing as a real union among the colonies as a whole. They did not seem to realize that there was any advantage in being united, except when some special emergency or trouble threatened them.

Not until the people of the colonies began to get excited about the tax laws passed by the English Parliament did there really come

about any definite united action among them. Nine colonies sent delegates to a Congress held at New York 1765 to protest against the Stamp Act. As the next few exciting years went on, the sense of common interest grew stronger, so that in 1774 all but one of the colonies which took part in the Revolution sent delegates to the First Continental Congress. On both occasions they set forth their united opinions concerning their rights as English citizens which they said were being denied them.

Then when war actually broke out, a new Continental Congress assembled, this time with delegates from thirteen colonies. Since there had to be some central government and the Second Continental Congress found nobody else to act in that capacity, it proceeded to do so itself. In 1776 it passed the famous Declaration of Independence which announced that "these united colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent states." Notice that they still used the plural number. They were free and independent states, not a free and independent nation.

The wiser members of the Congress, however, knew, in the words of Benjamin Franklin, that they must all hang together or else they would all hang separately. They therefore appointed a committee headed by John Dickinson of Delaware to draw up a plan for a central government. This committee presented the document known as the Articles of Confederation. Some of the states were very slow about accepting it. It was not until 1781 that the last one, Maryland, fell in line. But now the United States had a constitution. However weak and inexperienced this government was, it was at least a national government.

From your study of American history, recall the circumstances connected with the New England Confederation, the Albany Congress of 1754, and any intervening conferences. How important or significant do you consider any of these events?

216. Our Constitution. — It is difficult for us, when we look upon our firm and mighty Union, to imagine it once a struggling infant. Yet the sad experiences of the years of 1781 to 1789 told the ablest Americans how much need there was of a central government that could really do something. Finally, urged by such wise and active statesmen as George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, and Benjamin Franklin, twelve states sent delegates to a convention which assembled in Philadelphia in May, 1787, with instructions to try to

change the Articles of Confederation so as to provide a central government with enough power really to amount to something. The Convention decided to do much more than to amend the Articles of Confederation. It drew up an entirely new Consti-

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INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA

In this building the convention met which made our Constitution.

tution. Hardly anything that appeared in the Articles of Confederation was taken over just as it stood, but a new and much stronger government was planned. After four months' work the Convention turned over the Constitution to Congress, to be submitted to the states.

It was provided that when nine states should accept this Constitution, the new government should go into effect as far as those states were concerned. What would have happened if any of the most important states had failed to accept the new Constitution we can only guess, but fortunately we escaped that danger. In April, 1789, the new Congress assembled in New York, and on the 30th of that month George Washington took the oath of office as the new President.

In making this Constitution the men at Philadelphia did not invent something offhand out of their imaginations all inside of four months. They showed wonderful judgment in selecting the best features of the English government and the experiences through which the states themselves had passed. As a result they put together a document which has been extraordinarily successful. Only nineteen additions or changes have been made in over a century and a quarter of marvelous growth and development. And many of these "amendments" were made right at the start, before it was certain that they would be needed at all.

217. Changes in Our Constitution. — Times change and the needs of government change with them. He would be a foolish constitution-maker who did not provide some way to keep his constitution up to date by such changes as would prove desirable. But wisely, no doubt, the men of 1787 set up a fairly difficult process of amendment, so that no change is likely to be made without careful thought and without the approval of a large majority of the people.

There are two ways of *proposing* amendments: (1) Congress may propose them by a two-thirds vote of both houses. (2) A special convention must be called by Congress to consider amendments if the legislatures of two-thirds of the states request it. Only the first of these methods has thus far been used.

After amendments have been proposed they are submitted to the states to be accepted or rejected. No amendment becomes a part of the Constitution unless it is *ratified* by three-

fourths of the states. When Congress submits amendments to the states it may provide that the state legislatures shall act on the amendments or that a special convention may be called in each state for that particular purpose. Thus far Congress has always referred amendments to the state legislatures.

What advantages does either method have over the other? Would it be wise to have the people of each state vote directly on amendments to the national Constitution?

The chief facts about the nineteen amendments which have been thus far made may be seen from the following table:

Amendment	Date	Provisions
I to X	1791	A Bill of Rights. These were really unnecessary, but were added to make it certain that the making of the new government would not take away from the people any rights which they had been previously enjoying.
XI	1798	No person may sue a state in the national courts. This amendment was probably unnecessary. It resulted from a fear that the national courts might disregard the rights of a state.
XII	1804	Presidential electors must vote for president and vice president separately.
XIII	1865	Slavery was abolished.
XIV	1868	All persons born or naturalized in the United States were declared citizens. Other provisions related to the Civil War and the reconstruction of the South.
XV	1870	The right to vote should not be denied on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.
XVI	1913	Congress was given the power to levy an income tax.
XVII	1913	Senators are to be elected by popular vote.
XVIII	1919	The manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors for beverage purposes was prohibited.
XIX	1920	Equal suffrage for men and women was required.

The Constitution sets no time limit to ratification by the states. But thus far no amendment which has been adopted has taken more than four years for approval by the states. In drawing up the Eighteenth Amendment, Congress provided that it would not be valid unless it was ratified within seven years. Perhaps it might be well to have some such limitation, so that the country might know within a reasonable time what the states were to do with a proposed amendment.

Numerous other amendments have been discussed in Congress from time to time, and some have even been laid before the states.

What amendments, if any, are now under consideration? Do you think of any that you would like to see adopted?

Like every other people, we are in the habit of observing certain customs and practices in government just as faithfully as if they were definitely written in our Constitution. Some call these customs the "unwritten constitution" of this country.

As we shall see, presidential electors (§ 241) always do vote for the regular candidate of their party. The Cabinet has a definite and recognized place in the government, although not a word is said about it in the Constitution. The Constitution does not mention annexing territory, but we have done it many times.

Some long-standing customs are occasionally set aside on short notice. Just a few years ago the power of the Speaker of the House to appoint committees, which he had exercised for over a century, was taken from him. But it certainly is plain that some customs may become an habitual part of our political practices just as if they were written down in law or in the Constitution itself.

Should we think of the Constitution as a finished document too sacred to touch, or as a living, growing feature of our national life? What should be our attitude when some one proposes to amend the Constitution?

Work out for your notebook a good analysis of the Constitution in outline form, showing what general topics are taken up in each article, and what special topics in each section. Get the general outline of the Constitution into your head as well as in your notebook.

218. Should We Have a Cabinet System? — One change that some people would like to see made in our system of government is to introduce some of the features of the Cabinet system which originated in England, and which is employed to a considerable extent by the other governments of the world.

We have what we call a Cabinet in our government, but its members are the heads of departments appointed by the President and they have nothing to do directly with the law-making work of the government. Our system makes the President the most important officer in the government and, therefore, is sometimes referred to as the presidential system.

The English custom is known either as the Cabinet or the parliamentary system, because the English Cabinet gets all its authority from Parliament. In England they make no such attempt as we do to keep the executive and legislative departments separate. In fact they try to make them work together. Let us notice some of the particular differences between their system and ours.

(1) The English Cabinet members have seats in Parliament.

Our Cabinet cannot be members of Congress. Why? (Constitution, Art. I, Sect. 6, par. 2.)

(2) The English Cabinet proposes the important laws of Parliament and has general control of Parliamentary proceedings.

Our Cabinet can do no more than recommend that Congress pass a bill or get a member to introduce a bill as a favor.

(3) The members of the English Cabinet belong to the party which controls the House of Commons, and will resign if they cannot keep control of that body. Their term of office depends on their ability to keep command in Parliament.

Our Cabinet are usually members of the President's party, which may not happen to be the party that controls Congress. They may stay in office as long as they please the President, subject only to the impeachment power of Congress.

(4) The offices included in the English Cabinet sometimes vary in different ministries, and the pay varies with the office.

The membership of our Cabinet does not vary except as new offices are permanently added, and the salary is uniform — now $12,000 a year.

(5) The English Cabinet acts as a unit with the Prime Minister, or Premier, as the real head of the government.

Our Cabinet does not have to agree on all matters. No one member can control any officials except his own subordinates, and all are subject to the will of the President.

Of course we could not introduce the whole English system without amending our Constitution. It has been proposed, however, that Congress should invite the members of the Cabinet to attend its sessions now and then and thus furnish opportunity to talk over freely the particular matters that concern the work of each department in our Cabinet. This could be done very easily, and might remove some of the misunderstanding and unnecessary deadlocks that sometimes occur between the executive and law-making branches of our government, especially if they happen to be controlled by men of different parties.

Which system makes it easier to change the government to agree with changes in public sentiment? How far, if at all, would you advise either Great Britain or the United States to adopt the other's methods of government?

219. The Making of States. — In a federal government like ours there is always a big question as to the proper relation of the parts of the Union to one another and to the central government. Another problem that arose in our own case was whether the original thirteen states should have some place of superiority as compared with those that might be admitted later. Fortunately no such policy was adopted, and a new state coming into the Union at once finds itself, politically, on the same plane as the states already there.

The admission of new states is in the hands of Congress, with one exception. If the new state is to be made from land wholly or partly within the limits of one or more of the existing states, the legislatures of the states that are concerned must give their consent. Maine and West Virginia are the only states which have been so formed. Most of the present forty-eight states, outside of the original thirteen, had the sort of preparatory government that we call a territory (§ 282) before they became states, and came into the Union only when Congress got ready to let them come. There is no law requiring any particular population or area. When a state has once been admitted, there is no way of getting it out. In the words of

former Chief Justice Chase of the Supreme Court, this is "an indestructible Union composed of indestructible states."

One would suppose, therefore, that Congress would be very careful about this matter. Sometimes it has been, but sometimes a state was admitted much earlier than it should have been so as to get more electoral votes or members of the Senate for the benefit of a political party. Nevada, for example, had only 20,000 population when it was admitted, and even today you could put the people of seven Nevadas in the one city of Pittsburgh.

The process most often followed in admitting a new state is the following. Congress passes an "enabling act" which authorizes the people of a territory to choose delegates to a convention for the purpose of drawing up a state constitution. This constitution is then submitted to the vote of the people of the territory. If it is accepted by them and is satisfactory to Congress, that body passes a resolution to that effect. The President then issues a proclamation announcing that a new state has come into the Union. The arrangement of stars in the flag is adjusted soon afterward to make room for the new one.

When the state of Missouri was admitted and the particular problem of slavery caused so much discussion, the question was raised whether Congress could make special rules with reference to a state at the time it was admitted. This policy has been pursued in several cases. Oklahoma, for example, was obliged to prohibit the liquor traffic for at least 21 years, for the benefit of the Indians in its borders. Utah was kept out for a long time, until the leaders of the Mormon church were understood to have given a solemn pledge that the church had ceased the practice of polygamy.

When was your state admitted? How did it rank in population then and how does it now, in comparison with the other states? Compare it with other states in area, both in total size and in number of people per square mile. Can you bound it or draw a sketch map of it without looking at a book?

220. The States and the Union. — The Constitution seems to say very plainly that our government is a *federation* and not a *confederation*. It declares that the national Constitution

and all laws and treaties made in accordance with it, shall be "the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby." It seems very clear that if the two authorities conflict, the state must give way and recognize the higher authority of the nation. To assure recognition

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A Review of Troops at Camp Meade, Maryland

With such men as these the national government would if necessary protect its citizens from disorder in any part of the country.

of national authority, all public officers of the states as well as of the nation must take an oath to support the Constitution of the United States.

Calhoun and others once urged with great vigor that the Constitution was simply a "compact between the states," from which a state might withdraw almost at will. Webster very properly declared that such a Constitution would be simply a rope of sand. Probably some of the states would not have gone into the Union if they had thought at the time that they could not get out. But the Civil War settled the question of secession, as far as a war can settle anything, and made it clear that no state would be allowed peaceably to break away.

Perhaps in return for the recognition of this supremacy, the national government undertakes certain obligations toward the states. It must guarantee them a republican form

of government. It is very unlikely that any state will ever try to establish a monarchy or any other objectionable style of government; but if it should, the national government would be bound to prevent its continuance. The Supreme Court has ruled that the responsibility for deciding when a state has a republican form of government rests with Congress and not with the Court.

Further, the United States must protect every state from invasion by an enemy, though the state is expected to take its own part also, if such an unhappy event should occur. Finally, if a state cannot by its own efforts maintain order and put down a riot or insurrection within its own limits, its governor, or its legislature, if that body is in session, may appeal to the federal authorities for help.

Some people assert that there is a "twilight zone" in which it is hard to distinguish between the authority of the nation and of the state. But the ordinary person does not need to worry much about it. Anyway, if he does wrong, it makes little difference whether he is punished by the state or the national government. If he does right, neither is likely to bother him.

Let us group the different powers of states and nation under separate heads.

(1) *Forbidden powers.* Neither the state nor the national government may pass ex post facto laws,[1] or bills of attainder,[2] or grant titles of nobility. No authority may permit slavery or deny the right to vote to any man or woman because of "race, color, or

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[1] An *ex post facto* law is one under which a person might be punished for doing an act which was not contrary to law at the time it was done. Of course a law may be passed declaring an act to be a crime which had not been considered so before, but it can apply only to occasions after the law was passed.

[2] A *bill of attainder* is a name applied to an act of a law-making body condemning a person to punishment without giving him a trial in court, and perhaps depriving his family also of some of their rights or privileges.

Show the particular reasons why ex post facto laws, bills of attainder, and the granting of titles of nobility are forbidden.

previous condition of servitude." If we put the first nine amendments to our national Constitution alongside the Bills of Rights in the state constitutions, we have a rather formidable list of restrictions on the powers of our governments in relation to the privileges of the people.

(2) *Concurrent Powers.* Every government must have the power to obtain money either through laying taxes or borrowing. Both our state and national governments do this regularly. Still other matters such as making bankruptcy laws, acts regulating weights and measures, and trying certain cases at law, are left within the reach of both federal and state governments.

(3) *Federal Powers.* These include the making of treaties and alliances, the granting of letters of marque and reprisal,[1] coining money, declaring war, and maintaining an army or a navy.

In this group we must put three other powers which are forbidden to the states although not specially granted to the federal government. (1) The states may not "emit bills of credit" — in other words, issue paper money. (2) They may not "make anything but gold and silver a tender in payment of debts." That is, a state may not force a person to accept paper money in payment of an obligation. (3) The states may not "pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts" — that is, interfering with or preventing the performance of agreements already made.

Whether it was an oversight on the part of the makers of the Constitution that they did not impose these three restrictions on Congress too will never be known. As it is, Congress has done all three of these things and has been sustained by the courts in the act.

(4) *State Powers.* An almost endless list of powers comes within the group which the Tenth Amendment declares to be "reserved to the states respectively or to the people." Among these are the care of public health, education, regulation of local government, the care of the poor and insane, and the granting of the right to vote, subject to Amendments XV and XIX. The national government investigates some of these matters, as we have already learned, and even, through its control of interstate commerce, touches some of them with real authority. But whatever the federal government does on these points comes in connection with the exercise

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[1] *Letters of marque and reprisal* are warrants issued by a government authorizing private citizens to equip ships and attack the enemy's vessels in war times. Civilized governments do not permit this sort of thing any more.

of some other power. Only the states deal with these matters directly.

Yet one would err if he thought that the federal and state governments never work together or that they disregard each other's existence. Often they coöperate directly, as in handling a contagious disease. Sometimes the federal government leaves to the states the carrying out of its own laws, as when the districting of the states for the election of representatives in Congress is left for the state legislatures. That the spirit of coöperation and harmony could be improved is very true. But even as it is, each makes use of the other's services. Neither can forget that there are states and that there is a federal Constitution and government binding them all in one.

Would it be wiser to centralize more power in the federal government? Are there any advantages in our present system of distribution of powers?

Are the states older than the Union or is the Union older than the states?

221. The States and Each Other. — Some other delicate questions arise out of the relations of the parts of the Union to one another. It would be desirable, surely, to make matters of this kind as clear as possible in the Constitution, but it is hard to foresee every question in advance.

The Constitution tells us that "full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state." This means that an act legally done in one state must be respected as a legal act by the other states, even though their own laws might differ on the point in question. A deed to property which has been recorded in a lawful manner in one state must be recognized by the courts of another state. A corporation which has received a charter in any state must be recognized by other states as having the right to carry on business as a corporation, even if it could not have received a charter anywhere else.

Would it be an advantage if corporations were chartered by the federal government?

A citizen of one state is entitled to all the "privileges and immunities" of citizens of any other state while he may be within the borders of that other state. A citizen of New York

A Mississippi River Steamboat Waiting for Its Cargo

This sort of commerce is mostly interstate or foreign.

staying for a while in Pennsylvania may claim all the privileges of a citizen in Pennsylvania, no more and no less. He has no right to violate a Pennsylvania law simply because an act he may want to perform would not be a crime in New York. It is a person's duty to keep informed as to the laws of the place where he is, and not offer his ignorance as an excuse for a habit of law-breaking.

In spite of the many differences in detail between the laws of one state and the laws of another, the fundamental principles and customs are similar in most of the states. When there is a difference, our attention is particularly called to it. We may forget the ninety per cent of features that are common to all, in looking at a part of the ten per cent in which there is a difference. Nowhere is there so much difference that a person moving from one state to another would have any serious trouble in adjusting himself to his new surroundings, so far as government is concerned.

There is absolute freedom of trade between the states. *Intrastate* commerce, that is, commerce entirely within a state, may be regulated as that state sees fit. But when a journey or an exchange of goods or messages crosses the boundaries of a state, then it becomes *interstate* commerce and is subject to the control of Congress. No state is allowed to tax goods brought from another state, except for the purpose of inspecting them. The need for anything of this kind is rare.

Prove that a very large part of present-day industry is subject to national regulation.

The laws of a state are not in force beyond its own limits, but a criminal may not make use of this fact to escape punishment by fleeing from the state in which the crime was committed. Suppose, for example, a person who was accused of murder in Cincinnati went to Chicago after the crime was committed. The authorities in Cincinnati might lay a statement of the facts before the governor of Ohio. He would then send to the governor of Illinois a " requisition " asking that the accused person should be returned to Cincinnati, and in ordinary cases the governor of Illinois would instruct the Chicago police authorities to do this. Many times an accused person, under such circumstances, knowing that he will have to go back anyway, agrees to go without making this proceeding necessary, but he can compel it to be done if he insists on his constitutional rights.

Occasionally a governor, for what he considers a good reason, will refuse to honor a requisition made by another governor. No punishment is provided for such a refusal, and in the rare cases when this happens the accused person is safe, at least while that particular governor remains in office in the state where he has taken refuge.

If a criminal escapes to a foreign country, the process of getting him back is taken up by our State Department, as the individual states are not allowed to deal directly with a foreign country. With most of the countries of the world we have special " extradition " treaties covering cases of this kind.

American political ideas and institutions are based on those of England, modified to suit the conditions prevailing in a new country. The formation of an American union, however, did not come until the separation from the mother country occurred. Our present Constitution, which went into effect in 1789, has been amended nineteen times. The absence of a real Cabinet, in the English sense, is the outstanding difference between our government and those of another type.

Congress may admit new states, which then stand on full political equality with those already in the Union. There is a reasonably definite distribution of powers between the states and the federal government.

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Great Liberty Documents of English History.
The Great Liberty Documents of American History.
How the Colonies Were Governed.
Efforts at United Action among the Colonies.
The Articles of Confederation.
The Constitutional Convention of 1787.
The History of an Amendment.
Resolved, that constitutional amendments should be adopted by majority vote of the people.
Extradition Treaties with Foreign Countries.
The Webster-Hayne Debate.
The Story of the American Flag.

READINGS

Lessons in Community and National Life, A–18, C–18.
Beard — American Citizenship, Chapter 7.
Magruder — American Government, Chapters 3, 4.
Reed — Form and Functions of American Government, Chapters 1–4.

CHAPTER XXXI

POLITICAL PARTIES

"He serves his party best who serves his country best."
— Rutherford B. Hayes.

"The people can overthrow civil evils whenever they want to, and can have a government as good as they themselves make it or as bad as they suffer it to become." — Joseph W. Folk.

222. Why Parties Are Formed. — Why are parties formed? One answer to this question is that we have not learned how to get along without them. In all popular governments they exist. Not always do we find two great parties, like the Republican and the Democratic in our country, but sometimes there are as many as a half-dozen that are strong enough to elect some persons to offices.

Parties would not be formed if they were not of some use. One man alone, unless he is extremely influential, cannot affect the opinions of very many other people, or have much chance of making his ideas the policy of the government. If out of even forty people every person voted for his own first choice, perhaps a dozen or fifteen persons would get votes and nobody might get more than five or six. But when people in a considerable territory, whose principles are somewhat the same, band together and support certain candidates or policies they surely have a better chance for success.

So political parties have been formed to obtain united action among those who think more or less alike. Incidentally they help to reduce the number of candidates who will be voted for at elections and to center people's attention on two or three of them. We may briefly define a *political party* as an organized

group of persons who have similar ideas in regard to public questions. It is simply another illustration of the old proverb, "In union there is strength."

All the members of a party do not exactly agree on everything. Each party usually draws up a set of principles or arguments which it calls a "platform." Voters then can look over the platforms that have been adopted and decide which one on the whole more nearly agrees with their opinions, even though they may not hold entirely the views expressed by any one platform. In this way the great issues of the day, if there are any, are brought before the public mind, and people are given a chance to think about them.

It is often urged that parties give to certain officers a sense of responsibility. The official, so this argument runs, represents not only himself but the whole group that has voted for him. He may expect them to support him in trying to accomplish certain things. If there is more than one party, he may be still further influenced to make his record as strong and honorable as possible. For if people in power go wrong on great questions or make serious mistakes, they give the opposition a great deal to talk about when the next contest for office comes around.

Parties stir up competition, which is good for society as long as it is fair. They help to make people interested in public affairs, for too many people will not of themselves spend the time and thought which they ought to spend in thinking about their government and what it ought to do.

Review from your study of American history the development of political parties. Why were the first parties formed? What changes have taken place since? Should a person be ready to change his party freely, or should he consider himself definitely and permanently a member of one party? What seem to be the dividing lines between the leading parties today? Are their differences clearly marked out? Do you think it is ever true that the difference between the two great parties is that one side is in power and wants to stay in, and the other side is out of power and wants to get in?

223. How Parties Are Managed. — If we admit that parties are useful, we shall have to consent also to some sort of party organization. We must not expect anything to succeed if it is conducted in a haphazard, unsystematic way. At the head of each great party organization in this country is a national committee, made up of one political leader from each state in the Union. Every state has a committee, composed of prominent men in that state. There are also county committees and city or township committees. In large cities the wards and voting districts have their committees. On them rests particularly the duty of getting voters out on election day, and keeping interest stirred up in the welfare of the party. Committees are usually chosen in the same way that party candidates are nominated for office. In a particular campaign, however, special committees are agreed upon in some way by the party leaders.

Party platforms are supposed to be drawn up at conventions held, in part, for this particular purpose. Often, however, one man or a very few men do all the work of preparing the platform, and the convention does nothing more than go through the motion of adopting it. Sometimes certain "planks," or statements of opinion, which the party leaders never intend to carry out are put into a platform in the hope of catching a few more votes. Too often, as it has been expressed, a platform is something to get in on, and not to stand on after you get in. Such an attitude is dishonorable. Voters ought not to tolerate it in any party or candidate, and they frequently do rebuke those who are guilty of such conduct.

224. Dangers in Parties. — The ideal way to manage a party would be to have its affairs handled by its ablest and strongest men, who had been thoughtfully chosen for that purpose by the voters of the party. But unfortunately the men of high character who could do such work well are so active in other lines that they cannot take time to do the work of the politician. Besides, the rank and file of a party do not think as carefully as they should about the motives and

ability of the men who control its affairs. As a result, party "bosses" who care for nothing but their own advancement and profit often get the machinery of the party into their own hands. They can then put themselves into office without trouble, or, as they sometimes prefer to do, put in less known men who will do as they are told by the boss.

Many voters get into the habit of supporting blindly any candidate who bears their party name. They do not know and do not seem to care anything about the man's real merits. An intelligent voter, however, will always consider both the qualities of the candidates as men or women and the principles which they are supposed to represent. Too many people, both office-holders and private citizens, think themselves bound to oppose every proposition that comes from the other side. This is another one of the detrimental factors of parties in government. It turns away people's attention from the good or bad features of some program and too often causes a decision to be made that is entirely contrary to the merits of a policy.

Still another danger appears when a party boss undertakes to tell officers how they shall act with reference to a question that comes before them. The office-holder who prefers to do as his conscience tells him is sometimes punished for his independence by being refused any further political honors. Such a situation is outrageous, but it is liable to occur at any time unless the voters in general are quick and intelligent enough to distinguish between the public officers who really serve the public and those who serve only themselves or a party machine.

In recent years we have seen, especially in the western states, a refreshing spirit of independence. Voters do not hesitate to "split" their ticket — that is vote for some candidates of one party and some of another. There is no merit in splitting your ticket merely for the sake of bragging that you have done so, but at the same time it would be most extraordinary if all the good men and women belonged to one party. There will be many occasions when a voter who thinks only of what is

best for his community, state, or nation will want to forget entirely the party tags attached to the names of candidates. There are all sorts of questions to which there cannot be Republican or Democratic answers. Sometimes, indeed, we wonder whether the results are not chiefly bad if the same

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TESTS FOR CANDIDATES

The cartoonist of the *Saturday Evening Post* illustrated his impressions of the way candidates for office are often judged by politicians.

names are employed in local or even state elections that are used for national parties.

Which do you think are to be more considered by a voter, the personal character of the candidate or the platform which his party advocates? If you had to choose between a good man on a bad platform or a bad man on a good platform, which would you prefer? Is there any advantage in having a governor of the same party as the majority of the legislature? How do the parties rank in your state? Is there any special reason for this? Whose fault is it that dishonorable party bosses sometimes get control? Can you mention any party boss? What kind of man is he? How did he get his power? Do the members of his own party call him a boss? Is it better to have two parties, as has been the case in United States

or Great Britain, or several as we usually find in France and some other countries? When is it wise to organize a new party?

In your state or local community is there any "Voters' League" or similar organization whose purpose is to find out the facts about candidates for office and publish them for the information of voters? If so, how much attention do people pay to its reports and recommendations? Why?

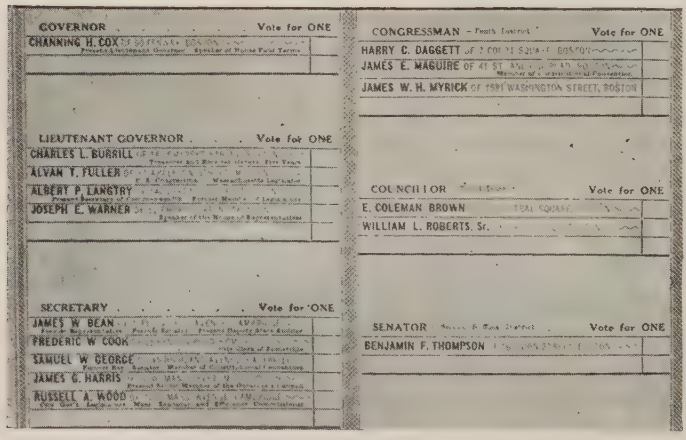
225. Nominating Candidates. — To *nominate* a candidate is to present his name for people to vote upon. For a long time parties generally selected their candidates by *nominating conventions*. These were composed of persons who were chosen by some means or other to meet for this particular purpose. Sometimes when only a small district is concerned, and when all the voters of a certain party are supposed to be permitted to come, such a meeting is called a *caucus*. One might be held, for example, in a voting precinct in a city or even a city ward. In a state legislature and in Congress, the members of a particular party come together now and then and "caucus" to decide how they will act toward some question that is under consideration. Some very bitter discussions have occurred over the question of whether any person who takes part in a caucus is under obligation to support a candidate whom it nominates or to accept its decision with reference to a public issue.

There has been a feeling that caucuses and conventions were not always fair means of selecting candidates for office, because only a small group of persons could attend. We have not found any way to get along without conventions to nominate candidates for President; but there has been adopted, in most of the states, the method known as the *direct primary* to take the place of the nominating convention. The direct primary is an election which is held in about the same way as a regular election, a few weeks or months before the regular election, and in which all the voters of a party may participate.

Persons who wish to be the candidates of a certain party for office are required to present a petition signed by a certain

number of voters, and a party ballot is prepared for each party. This contains the names of all would-be candidates for that party. When the voter arrives, he is given the ballot for the party to which he is supposed to belong, and is allowed to mark his preference for each office.

Not all the improvement which was hoped for has come from this method; but at least if the mass of the voters in a party



OFFICIAL BALLOT OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

TO VOTE FOR A PERSON MARK A CROSS [x] IN THE SQUARE AT THE RIGHT OF THE NAME

GOVERNOR — Vote for ONE
CHANNING H. COX

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR — Vote for ONE
CHARLES L. BURRILL
ALVAN T. FULLER
ALBERT P. LANGTRY
JOSEPH E. WARNER

SECRETARY — Vote for ONE
JAMES W. BEAN
FREDERIC W. COOK
SAMUEL W. GEORGE
JAMES G. HARRIS
RUSSELL A. WOOD

CONGRESSMAN — Vote for ONE
HARRY C. DAGGETT
JAMES E. MAGUIRE
JAMES W. H. MYRICK

COUNCILLOR — Vote for ONE
E. COLEMAN BROWN
WILLIAM L. ROBERTS, Sr.

SENATOR — Vote for ONE
BENJAMIN F. THOMPSON

A Primary Ballot

do not get the kind of nominations which they wish, it is nobody's fault now but their own. The direct primary is certainly an important step toward government by the people.

It is still possible for a person to get his name on the ballot as a candidate in most states, even after the primaries. This is done by securing the signatures of a certain number of voters on a petition or " nomination paper " and entering the contest under some new distinguishing party title. Usually one or two per cent of the total vote of a state at the last election is required to secure the placing of a party name on the official ballot for the next election. Persons who have to get their names on the ballot in this way are under a decided

handicap in running against the candidates of organized political parties, but they sometimes succeed.

It is sometimes urged that we have no assurance of getting the best candidates by the direct primary, because it costs a great deal of money to advertise a candidate so that every voter will know about him, while it is possible for a convention of two or three hundred people to get acquainted with the various candidates personally and then pick out the best one. How much do you think there is in this argument? Why do you suppose the so-called political boss almost invariably does not like the direct primary? Sometimes the number of voters who take part in a primary election is very much smaller than the number at a regular election. Does this show good judgment on the part of the voters?

When the leading parties have adopted their platforms and made their nominations, the race is fairly on. The candidates and other "spell-binders" address public meetings or "rallies." Advertisements, news items, and editorials appear in newspapers and magazines urging the people to vote one way or another.

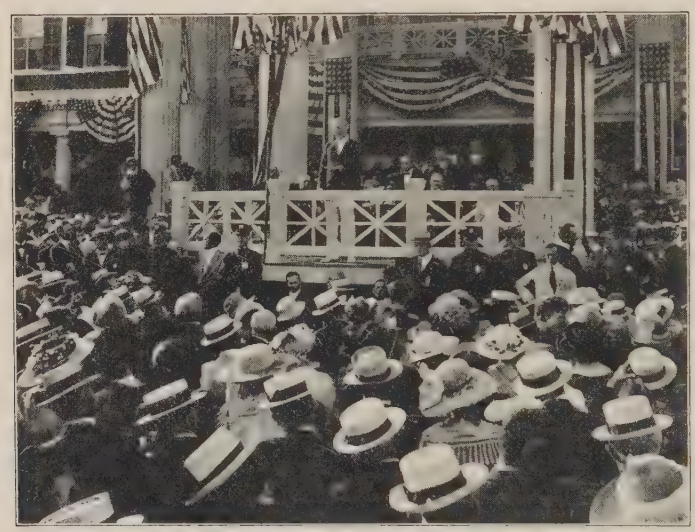
It used to be the custom more than now to hold big parades and burn a great deal of red fire and otherwise get the public excited over a party or a candidate, as in the famous "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" campaign of 1840. But with the spread of general intelligence it has become more common to use methods more suitable to educated men, though many of the arguments put forth in a political contest would sound foolish if employed in any other serious business.

In every national election and in the majority of state elections, the outcome is determined by the way the independent vote is cast. The particular appeal is therefore made to those voters who do some thinking for themselves, and the "regular," who would vote for a gray mule on his own party ticket, is simply urged to come to the polls on election day.

Many of the methods used by political parties are honest and honorable, but the temptation is sometimes strong to use the party funds in ways that are questionable or downright

dishonest. Large corporations formerly gave liberally to campaign funds in the hope that the party which received their gifts would allow no laws to pass which would hurt the corporations.

To prevent the dishonest use of money, not only have states passed laws providing heavy penalties for bribery, but there



A Political Meeting

This crowd had come to visit President Wilson at his summer home and to hear him discuss the issues of the 1916 campaign.

are both state and national acts requiring the publication of the names of large contributors to campaign funds, and forbidding a party to accept gifts from corporations. Candidates for office must also file statements showing their own receipts and expenditures.

What, in your opinion, are proper and improper uses of money in campaigns? Who contributes this money and why? Would conditions be improved if campaign expenses were paid out of the state or national treasury? Who should be punished, the man who gives a bribe or who accepts one, or both?

226. Holding Elections. — Communities containing more than a few voters are generally divided into precincts or election districts. In each district there is usually a judge, with two or more inspectors and ballot clerks, chosen by the voters of the district and representing more than one party. The whole American election system really depends upon the honesty of these small election boards, for if they are too ignorant or corrupt to count the ballots correctly, there is not much use in holding an election at all. Each party may have "watchers" at the polls, who can "challenge" persons whom they suspect of not being entitled to vote and can require them to prove their right.

"Stuffing the ballot box" and other forms of cheating at elections are now, taking the country as a whole, uncommon and are no longer excused on the ground that anything goes in politics as long as our side wins. We should not feel, on the other hand, that all political workers can be trusted. There are still dishonest men and men who cannot resist temptation.

Presidential elections are held on the Tuesday after the first Monday of November in leap years. Every state except Maine chooses its state officers and members of Congress on that same day of the year, whenever such officers are to be chosen. In many states elections for city, county, or other local officers are held separately from state and national elections, either in the spring or in December, or in alternate years. Such an arrangement helps to relieve the evil of mixing state and national politics. There is no general rule governing the time of holding primary elections. Each state settles that for itself.

The polls are open practically all of election day, although the exact hours vary in different states. Sunrise to sunset, 9 A.M. to 5 P.M., 7 A.M. to 7 P.M., are examples. Immediately after the polls close, the election officers begin to count the votes. If the ballot contains the names of many candidates, constitutional amendments to be voted on, and the like, the work is long and tiresome.

After finishing the count, the officials send or take the returns to the county or state officer as required by law for the purpose of tabulating and officially announcing them. Usually the result of a presidential or other important election is known on election night through estimates based on the early returns gathered by newspapers, but if the vote in a state is close

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AN ELECTION BOARD ON DUTY

The clerks have to check off the voters' names on the registration books when they receive their ballots. Notice the booths in which they vote.

and the outcome depends on the vote in some country districts, it may be days before the result can be stated with certainty.

Bound the voting precinct in which you live. In what building is the voting done? How does the precinct generally go politically?

If an election is held while your class is engaged in this study, follow the course of events very closely. Have your own class arrange and hold an election, using sample ballots or mimeographed copies of the ballots. Go through the whole business of registration if that is required in your community.

227. Who May Vote? — We should understand clearly that the national Constitution has little to say about who shall vote in any state. Amendment XIV declares that if states deny the vote to any male citizen over 21 years of age for any reason except the commission of some crime, their representation in

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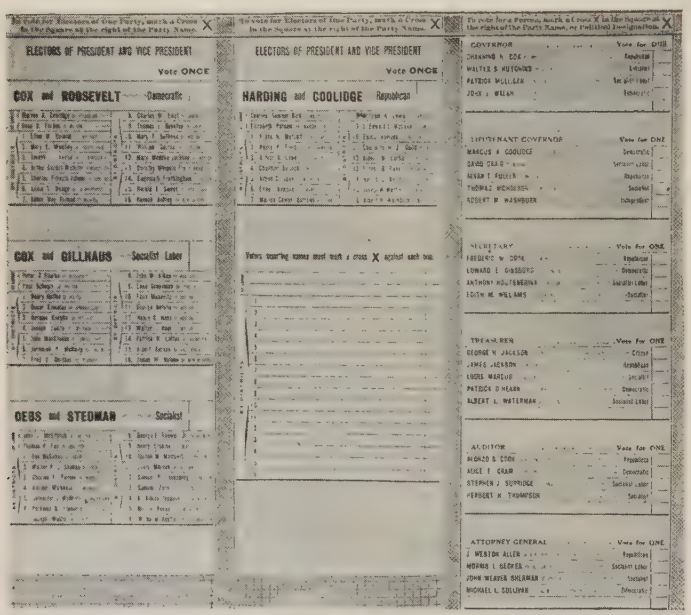
AN AMERICAN CITIZEN

The gentleman casting his ballot is Mr. Jee Lin Ong. Of what ancestry do you think he is? How can he vote? Does he look any less American than the other men?

Congress shall be cut down; but by various tricks this provision is evaded, and Congress has never dared to enforce the penalty. The states do almost exactly as they please in the matter, and the qualifications required of voters vary considerably. Since the adoption of Amendment XIX women vote everywhere on the same terms as men.

An age requirement of 21 years is universal. United States citizenship is necessary in most states, though a few allow an alien to vote if he has declared his intention of becoming a citizen. In most states a voter must have lived in his state, county, or voting district a certain length of time. Several


ELECTORS OF PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT
Vote ONCE
COX and ROOSEVELT Democratic
COX and GILLHAUS Socialist Labor
DEBS and STEDMAN Socialist
ELECTORS OF PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT
Vote ONCE
HARDING and COOLIDGE Republican
Voters inserting names must mark a cross X against each one.
GOVERNOR Vote for One
LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR Vote for ONE
SECRETARY Vote for ONE
TREASURER Vote for ONE
AUDITOR Vote for ONE
ATTORNEY GENERAL Vote for ONE

A Massachusetts Ballot

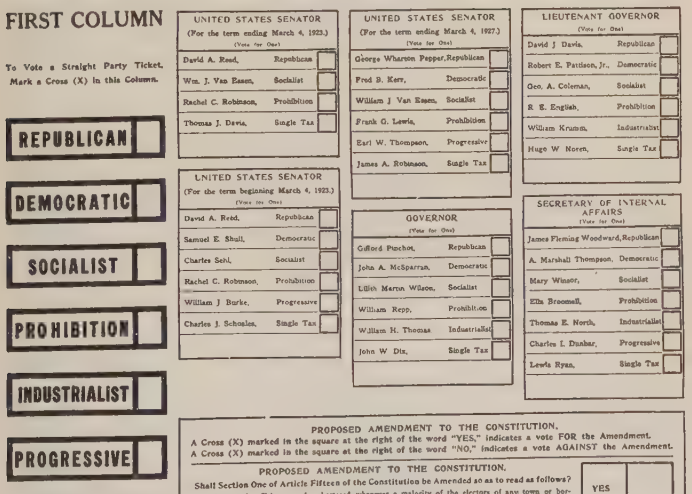
Observe that there is no party square on this ballot, but that you must vote for each office separately.

states demand the payment of some kind of tax. Some states require the ability to read and write or to understand the Constitution of the United States or that of the state.

Do you favor an educational test for voters?

In some states, particularly those with large cities, voters must go personally before a registration board and enroll their names, if they wish to vote. Some such rule as this is about the only way to prevent the " padding " of the vot-

ing lists with fraudulent names and voting more than once by the same person — " repeating," as it is called. In country districts and small towns such fraud cannot so easily be committed, and there the enrollment of voters is made by the assessors or other local officers.


FIRST COLUMN
To Vote a Straight Party Ticket, Mark a Cross (X) in this Column.
REPUBLICAN
DEMOCRATIC
SOCIALIST
PROHIBITION
INDUSTRIALIST
PROGRESSIVE
SINGLE TAX
UNITED STATES SENATOR
(For the term ending March 4, 1923.)
(Vote for One)
David A. Reed, Republican
Wm. J. Van Essen, Socialist
Rachel C. Robinson, Prohibition
Thomas J. Davis, Single Tax
UNITED STATES SENATOR
(For the term beginning March 4, 1923.)
(Vote for One)
David A. Reed, Republican
Samuel E. Shull, Democratic
Charles Sehl, Socialist
Rachel C. Robinson, Prohibition
William J Burke, Progressive
Charles J. Schoales, Single Tax
UNITED STATES SENATOR
(For the term ending March 4, 1927.)
(Vote for One)
George Wharton Pepper, Republican
Fred B. Kerr, Democratic
William J Van Essen, Socialist
Frank G. Lewis, Prohibition
Earl W. Thompson, Progressive
James A. Robinson, Single Tax
GOVERNOR
(Vote for One)
Gifford Pinchot, Republican
John A. McSparran, Democratic
Lilith Mertin Wilson, Socialist
William Repp, Prohibition
William H. Thomas Industrialist
John W Dix, Single Tax
LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR
(Vote for One)
David J Davis, Republican
Robert E. Pattison, Jr., Democratic
Geo. A. Coleman, Socialist
R. E. English, Prohibition
William Krumm, Industrialist
Hugo W Noren, Single Tax
SECRETARY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS
(Vote for One)
James Fleming Woodward, Republican
A. Marshall Thompson, Democratic
Mary Winsor, Socialist
Ella Broomell, Prohibition
Thomas E. North, Industrialist
Charles I. Dunbar, Progressive
Lewis Ryan, Single Tax
PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION.
A Cross (X) marked in the square at the right of the word "YES," indicates a vote FOR the Amendment.
A Cross (X) marked in the square at the right of the word "NO," indicates a vote AGAINST the Amendment.
PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION.
Shall Section One of Article Fifteen of the Constitution be Amended so as to read as follows?
Section 1. Cities may be chartered whenever a majority of the electors of any town or borough having a population of at least ten thousand shall vote as any general or municipal election in favor of the same. Cities, or cities of any particular class, may be given the right and power to frame and adopt their own charters and to exercise the powers and authority of local self-government, subject, however, to such restrictions, limitations, and regulations, as may be imposed by the Legislature. Laws also may be enacted affecting the organization and government of cities and boroughs, which shall become effective in any city or borough only when submitted to the electors thereof, and approved by a majority of those voting thereon.
YES
NO

A Pennsylvania Ballot

To vote for a candidate for any particular office, or on the constitutional amendment, the voter makes a cross in the square at the right of the name or opposite the word "yes" or "no." He can vote for all the candidates of one party by making a cross in the square after the party name at the left of the ballot, but this does not count on the constitutional amendment.

Make up a complete and exact list of requirements for voters which you would consider fair and reasonable. How does this compare with the laws of your own state?

228. Ballots. — At the beginning of the nineteenth century people usually voted by word of mouth, and in some states the polls were kept open for several days. In place of that

method, the use of a written or printed ballot was later introduced, each political party supplying its own. Although this was an improvement over the former practice, it was still too open and permitted fraud too easily.

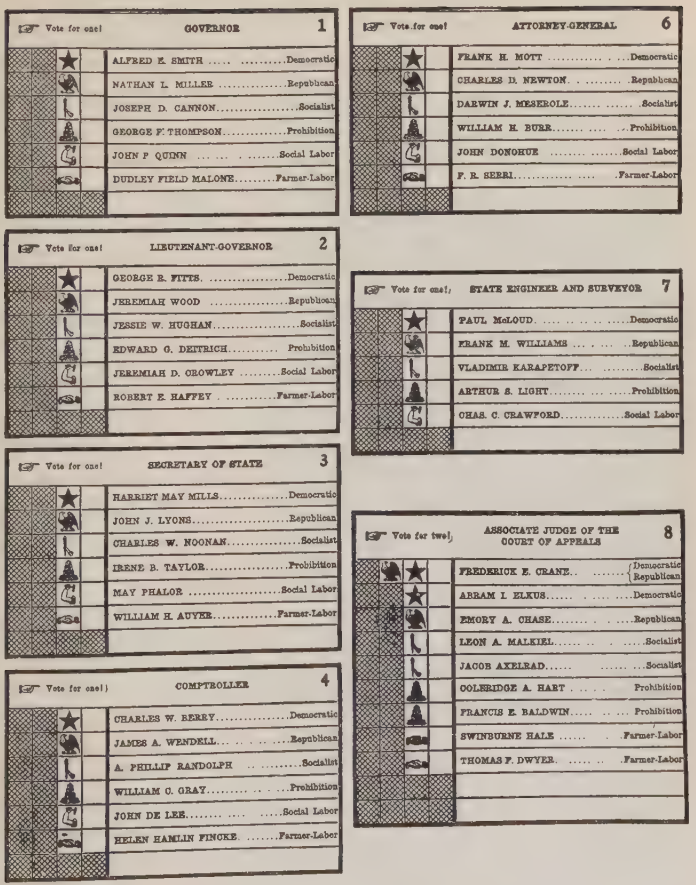
Beginning with about 1890 the states have adopted some form of the system of voting previously used in Australia and therefore called the *Australian ballot*. The cardinal features of this plan are: (1) the names of the candidates of all parties are printed on one ballot, which the voter must mark in some way; (2) the state or county authorities supply the ballots; (3) the marking is done in a private booth, so that no one can see how the voter marks his ballot.

This system discourages bribery, because if a person cannot see how a man marks his ballot there is no proof that he votes the way he has been paid to vote. It promotes independent voting, too. Some men would not dare to vote as their conscience told them if they were afraid their employer or some other person would dislike them for voting that way. When they can vote in secret, however, they may mark the ballot in the way they believe to be right.

There are several styles of arrangement for the names of candidates on the ballot. A system which has been very widely used is the *party column* method. All the candidates of one party are put in one column and those of other parties in parallel columns. Then a voter can select the candidates for any office from the different columns if he wishes to do so. In some states there has been a square or circle at the top of a column in which one may make a cross and have it count for all the candidates of that party. In states where independent voting is encouraged, however, no such "party square" appears. The lazy or ignorant man is pretty sure to vote a straight party ticket if he can do so by making one cross.

The so-called *Massachusetts ballot*, used by that state and several others, groups all the candidates for an office together, arranging their names in alphabetical order or, in some states by lot. There is no "party square" and a voter must mark for each candidate separately. Some states have a sort of compromise between the party column method and the Massachusetts system.

In New York and some other places, voting machines have been



Vote for one!	GOVERNOR	1
	ALFRED E. SMITH	Democratic
	NATHAN L. MILLER	Republican
	JOSEPH D. CANNON	Socialist
	GEORGE F. THOMPSON	Prohibition
	JOHN P. QUINN	Social Labor
	DUDLEY FIELD MALONE	Farmer-Labor

Vote for one!	ATTORNEY-GENERAL	6
	FRANK H. MOTT	Democratic
	CHARLES D. NEWTON	Republican
	DARWIN J. MESEROLE	Socialist
	WILLIAM H. BURR	Prohibition
	JOHN DONOHUE	Social Labor
	F. R. SERRI	Farmer-Labor

Vote for one!	LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR	2
	GEORGE R. FITTS	Democratic
	JEREMIAH WOOD	Republican
	JESSIE W. HUGHAN	Socialist
	EDWARD C. DEITRICH	Prohibition
	JEREMIAH D. CROWLEY	Social Labor
	ROBERT E. HAFFEY	Farmer-Labor

Vote for one!	STATE ENGINEER AND SURVEYOR	7
	PAUL McLOUD	Democratic
	FRANK M. WILLIAMS	Republican
	VLADIMIR KARAPETOFF	Socialist
	ARTHUR S. LIGHT	Prohibition
	CHAS. C. CRAWFORD	Social Labor

Vote for one!	SECRETARY OF STATE	3
	HARRIET MAY MILLS	Democratic
	JOHN J. LYONS	Republican
	CHARLES W. NOONAN	Socialist
	IRENE B. TAYLOR	Prohibition
	MAY PHALOR	Social Labor
	WILLIAM H. AUYER	Farmer-Labor

Vote for two!	ASSOCIATE JUDGE OF THE COURT OF APPEALS	8
	FREDERICK E. CRANE	Democratic Republican
	ABRAM I. ELKUS	Democratic
	EMORY A. CHASE	Republican
	LEON A. MALKIEL	Socialist
	JACOB AXELRAD	Socialist
	COLERIDGE A. HART	Prohibition
	FRANCIS E. BALDWIN	Prohibition
	SWINBURNE HALE	Farmer-Labor
	THOMAS F. DWYER	Farmer-Labor

Vote for one!	COMPTROLLER	4
	CHARLES W. BERRY	Democratic
	JAMES A. WENDELL	Republican
	A. PHILLIP RANDOLPH	Socialist
	WILLIAM C. GRAY	Prohibition
	JOHN DE LEE	Social Labor
	HELEN HAMLIN FINCKE	Farmer-Labor

PART OF A NEW YORK BALLOT

Once New York used the party column ballot, with each party's candidates placed in one column and the party symbol or picture at the head of the column. Now the voter has to pick out his candidates from the blocks arranged as above, and make a cross between the candidate's name and the party symbol.

used. When this is done the tiresome counting of the votes is unnecessary, for the machine itself records each vote as it is cast.

229. Finding the People's Opinion. — With the spread of the spirit of democracy it is only natural that people should like to have some part in the making of laws as well as in the election of officers. Since the New England town meeting, where the voters make the laws themselves, is suitable for only a comparatively small community, a kind of substitute which can be used on a much wider scale has been employed. This has found considerable favor, especially in the West. This plan is not an American invention, for the initiative and referendum, as they are called, have been in use in Switzerland, New Zealand, and elsewhere for some time.

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THE FRONT OF A VOTING MACHINE

Notice the levers which are to be pulled by the voter to indicate his choice of candidates. The gentleman in the picture is F. D. Roosevelt, Democratic candidate for Vice President in 1920.

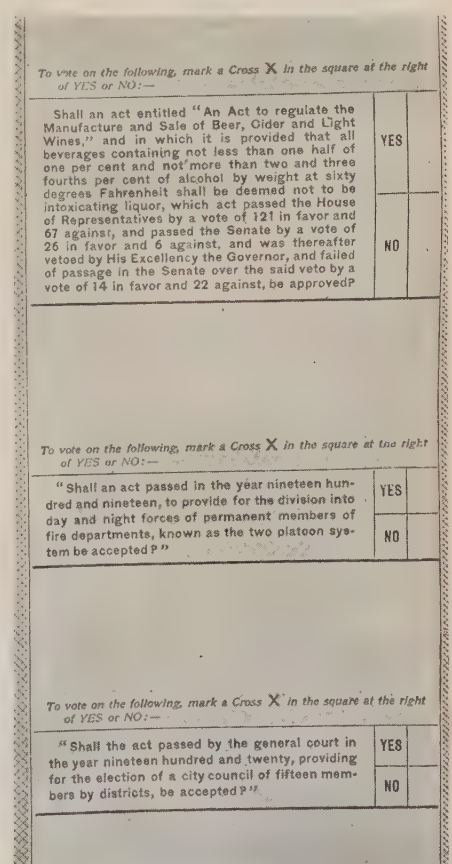
The *initiative* is the right given to a certain percentage of the voters to draw up a law or force the law-making body to draw up one, to be submitted to popular vote. The submitting of a measure to popular vote before it is to go into effect is known as the *referendum*.

Referendum votes on laws, constitutional amendments, and the like, are generally taken at the time of regular elections, and the measures to be voted on are printed on the regular ballot. Special referendum elections, however, are sometimes held. Several

states make use of the referendum in matters such as constitutional amendments and laws of unusual importance, even though they do not permit the use of the initiative; but the initiative would not be of much use without the referendum.

Experience seems to show that the use of these political instruments should not be made too easy, lest a small group of "cranks" might bother the voters too frequently by compelling them to vote on hasty measures which they might not understand at all. But it is well to have these weapons available when a legislature neglects to pass laws which the people really want. The initiative and the referendum are likely to promote public interest and encourage intelligent thought on the part of voters.

Is a voter likely to act more wisely in voting on a law than in choosing a member of the legislature to do it for him?



To vote on the following, mark a Cross X in the square at the right of YES or NO:—

Shall an act entitled "An Act to regulate the Manufacture and Sale of Beer, Cider and Light Wines," and in which it is provided that all beverages containing not less than one half of one per cent and not more than two and three fourths per cent of alcohol by weight at sixty degrees Fahrenheit shall be deemed not to be intoxicating liquor, which act passed the House of Representatives by a vote of 121 in favor and 67 against, and passed the Senate by a vote of 26 in favor and 6 against, and was thereafter vetoed by His Excellency the Governor, and failed of passage in the Senate over the said veto by a vote of 14 in favor and 22 against, be approved?	YES	
	NO	

To vote on the following, mark a Cross X in the square at the right of YES or NO:—

"Shall an act passed in the year nineteen hundred and nineteen, to provide for the division into day and night forces of permanent members of fire departments, known as the two platoon system be accepted?"	YES	
	NO	

To vote on the following, mark a Cross X in the square at the right of YES or NO:—

"Shall the act passed by the general court in the year nineteen hundred and twenty, providing for the election of a city council of fifteen members by districts, be accepted?"	YES	
	NO	

REFERENDUM PROVISIONS ON THE BALLOT

The *recall* is often mentioned in connection with the initiative and referendum, though there is no necessity for doing so. The recall permits a certain percentage of the voters, by drawing up a petition, to force an office holder to submit to a special election before the end of the term for which he was elected. The result of the election

determines whether he shall serve out the term or give way to some one else.

It is open to the criticism that it may make voters less careful about electing their officers in the first place and may be employed to make trouble for a good official whose duty has forced him to do a thing that was unpopular with a certain class. But since the process of impeachment is so difficult to use, it is possible that the recall, if safeguarded so that it could not be used recklessly, would be a desirable weapon to have at hand in case of an emergency — "a gun behind the door," President Wilson called it.

Many people believe that the voter should elect only a few officials and should hold them responsible for appointing the rest. This idea is called the *short ballot.* Its advocates say that the mass of the people do not know anything about most of the persons for whom they vote, anyway, while if only a few officers were to be elected the people would take more notice of those few and learn something about them.

What do you think about the proposition? If it should be instituted in your community or state, what officers would you have elected? How many of the candidates who were chosen at the last election do the voters in your own family remember today?

Another idea is that of the *preferential ballot.* This plan would permit a voter to express not only his first choice for an office, but his second or third, and perhaps further choices. Then, in counting the votes, the later choices would be combined in some way with a candidate's first choice votes. It is possible that a candidate might be the first choice of perhaps a quarter of the voters, but not even the sixth choice of the rest of them. If the votes of the other three-fourths were divided among half a dozen candidates, however, the first-mentioned man would ordinarily be elected. This would not occur if the preferential system were in use.

Still another plan is that known as *cumulative voting.* It aims to give the minority party some representation in office-holding. If two or three candidates are to be chosen for a certain position as, for example, county commissioner or representative in the legislature, a voter might be allowed either to cast one vote for each of two or three candidates or cast two or three votes for one candidate. It does not seem quite fair that a party should have no voice whatever in law-making or administering public affairs simply because it cannot get the support of a majority of the voters.

Does your community or state make any use of these methods? Would it be possible to introduce them? Which ones, if any, do you favor yourself?

Every democratic government has political parties, though in some countries they are not so thoroughly organized as they are here, and voters are more ready to change from one party to another. Parties render services of importance, but their influence is sometimes harmful to good citizenship. Nominating and electing candidates is done in accordance with the laws of each state. Some form of secret ballot is now general. The direct primary, for nominating candidates, the recall, for removing public officers, and the initiative and referendum, to enable the voters to take a more direct part in the work of government, are now in use, some of them in many states, and some in a smaller number.

SPECIAL TOPICS

Notable Campaigns in Our Community (or State, or Nation).

How a Convention Is Conducted.

Parties and Their Management in Our Community.

Resolved, that every voter should consider himself a regular member of some political party.

Resolved, that all qualified persons who fail to vote at an election should be fined.

The Election Laws of Our State.

Resolved, that the initiative and referendum should be generally introduced in our state (or, have been successful in our state).

The Story of Woman Suffrage.

What the Parties of Today Represent.

Resolved, that in state or local elections party names (or, national party names) should not be used.

Resolved, that every voter should be able to read and write the English language.

READINGS

Lessons in Community and National Life, A–19.

Beard — American Citizenship, Chapters 6, 12, 13.

Magruder — American Government, Chapters 17, 25, 26.

Reed — Form and Functions of American Government, Chapters 6–8.

Haskin — American Government, Chapter 31.

Beard — American City Government, Chapter 3.

OUR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

CHAPTER XXXII

CONGRESS AND LAW-MAKING

"A lawyer's dealings should be just and fair;
Honesty shines with great advantage there."
— Cowper.

230. The Importance of Law-Making. — In almost every constitution that was ever made you will find the law-making branch of the government described first. Is there any reason for this arrangement, or is it mere accident? How did we define a *law?* It is a rule laid down by the people, or for them, to guide their actions. Until laws are made by somebody the individual citizen has a right to do as he thinks is fair and reasonable, even though somebody disagrees with him. Only when a law is made can everybody be sure what his government or his community thinks he ought to do and ought not to do. Laws, then, are fundamental to all government. They may be either *constitutional* laws, which are written in the constitution itself, or *statute* laws, which are made by some regular law-making body.

Moreover, why do we have executives and judges? Simply because we have laws and need to have people to see that they are carried out and interpreted if necessary. Our executives and our administrators, our judges and our courts, have nothing to do until some sort of law has been set up and put into operation. All phases of government rest upon law-making.

Would it be correct to call the edicts or proclamations of an absolute monarch laws? Could a community, made up of people who are well-intentioned and fair-minded, get along without laws?

231. The Composition of Law-Making Bodies. — In the remarks we made about the governments of the world you probably noticed that every one of them has a law-making body of two houses or two "chambers" — *bicameral,* if we want to use a somewhat technical term. What are the reasons for this?

One set of reasons is based on history. We see this working particularly in the English government. The House of Lords and the House of Commons represented two different social elements among the English people. The House of Commons, as we have noticed, has become virtually the ruling body in England, but the Lords still meet separately and are likely to do so as long as they exist at all.

When our present Constitution was made, eleven of the thirteen original states had for one reason or another formed two houses in their legislatures. There was some thought, too, of a parallel between the English Parliament and the new Congress which was to come into being under the new Constitution. Besides, the large states wanted representation according to population and the small states wanted every state to have an equal vote. To have two houses in Congress instead of one offered a convenient means of settling this troublesome dispute. One more reason for having two houses in our Congress is that one house was looked upon as representing the states, as *states,* while the other might be considered to represent the *people* directly.

There is also the other argument that it is well to have an additional check and balance in the government. The two houses act as a check on each other. Probably fewer laws are passed than if there were only one body. But it would be hard to prove whether we have fewer good laws or fewer bad laws than we should otherwise get. Having two houses enables one house sometimes to "pass the buck" to the

other when a perplexing proposition is on hand. In city government today we are tending steadily toward the *unicameral* idea — that is, having a law-making body consisting of but one group of men.

232. The House of Representatives. — The House of Representatives is supposed to be somewhat closer to the people than the Senate. Its members have always been chosen directly by the voters. Their term is two years and they are all elected at the same time. They must be twenty-five years of age, citizens of the United States for seven years, and must live in the state from which they are elected. By custom they generally live in the districts which they represent, though this is not necessary.

The number of representatives from a state depends upon its population, except that each state must have one. New York has the largest number — at present 43. The total membership now is 435. After each census (1910, 1920, etc.), Congress is supposed to pass an "apportionment" law, saying how many representatives each state shall have for the next ten years.

The state legislature is supposed to divide the state into as many districts as there are representatives to be chosen, and then the voters in each district elect a representative. If a new apportionment adds to the number of representatives from a state, but the legislature neglects to make new districts, the extra member or members are chosen by the voters of the whole state. A member so elected is known as a *Congressman-at-large.*

The fairest way to district a state is to make the districts nearly equal in population and composed of compact territory. But legislatures sometimes try to give a certain party control of more districts than it deserves by making these districts of queer shapes and uneven population. Somebody invented the word "gerrymander" to apply to this practice. Happily the gerrymander is less common than formerly, though it is still sometimes used in dividing up states, counties, or cities for various purposes.

Make a map that will show whether your state is gerrymandered. How many representatives does your state send to Congress? Name those who represent districts near you. In England a dis-

trict may elect to the House of Commons anybody from anywhere to represent it. Is there any advantage in the English system over ours, or vice versa? Do you think women should have seats in Congress? Do you know of any who have been members?

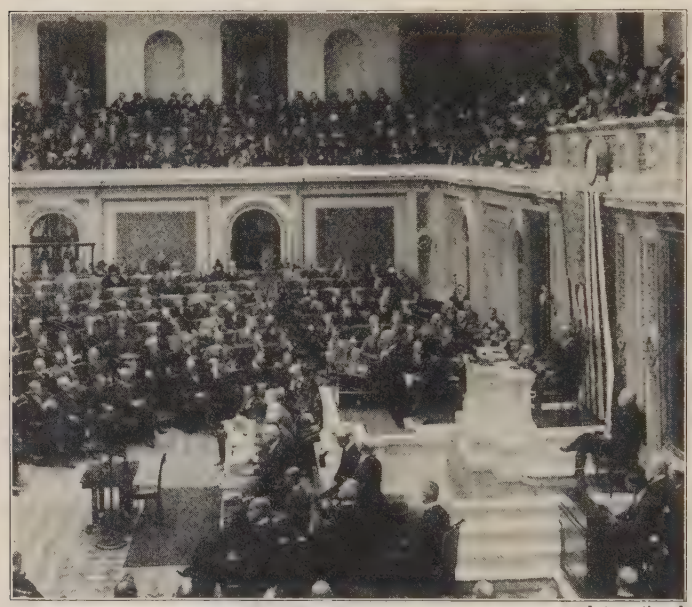
Regular elections for members of Congress are held in November of the even years, and persons chosen at that time begin their terms on the 4th of March following. The life of a single Congress is reckoned from March 4 of an odd year until March 4 two years later, since the Representatives are elected for that period only. A Congress is referred to by number, reckoned by counting the years from 1789 until the year when the term of its Representatives expires, and dividing by two. The Congress whose term began on March 4, 1923, was therefore the 68th.

In addition to the general duty of law-making, which both houses share almost equally, each house is given by the Constitution certain special powers in which the other has no part. In impeachment proceedings, for example, the House of Representatives has the right to bring formal charges against a federal officer whom it believes to be guilty of misconduct such as to call for his removal from office. If no candidate for President obtains a majority of the electoral votes (§ 241) the House chooses the President.

Only the House may introduce bills for raising revenue to carry on the government, on the theory that the people can control the House more directly and that the people should determine for themselves as far as possible when and how they should be taxed. But this power does not really amount to very much, for the Senate may amend revenue bills the same as any other bills coming from the House, and it sometimes amends them out of all likeness to the original.

In the House the regular presiding officer is the Speaker. He is elected from the House itself and is usually the leader of the majority party there. The position is one of much importance, though its powers have been reduced in recent

years. No member may speak or offer a motion unless he is recognized by the Speaker, and the Speaker also makes rulings on points of order, on referring bills to committees,



International

THE PRESIDENT ADDRESSING CONGRESS

Back of the President, just below the flag, is the Speaker's desk. The President of the Senate is seated at the Speaker's side on this occasion.

and the like, which indirectly may have an important effect on a bill's chances of becoming a law.

Is it better that the Speaker should be a mere presiding officer or that he should have extensive powers? Who is the present Speaker? Can you find out anything about him or his career?

The House has also a clerk, a chaplain, a doorkeeper, a postmaster, and a sergeant-at-arms. The chief duties of the latter are to keep order and hunt up absent members.

233. The Senate. — In one sense it would be incorrect to speak of one house as being more powerful than the other,

since each may and often does defeat bills that have been passed by the other. But the Senate always has a larger proportion of experienced politicians in its membership; it has a more permanent and complete organization; and its members, being fewer in number, have a better chance of becoming known individually to the whole country. For these and other reasons the Senate has acquired somewhat greater prestige than the House. If the two houses disagree over some important matter the Senate more often than the House gets its own way in the end.

The voters in each state elect two senators for a term of six years. In order to prevent great changes in the membership of the Senate, and to keep it a kind of conservative body, it is provided that the senators shall be grouped into three classes, and the terms of each class shall expire two years apart. By this plan only one senator from a state is elected at one time, except when a new state comes into the Union or when an unexpected vacancy occurs through death or resignation. At least two-thirds of the senators will always have had two or more years' experience in the office.

Each senator must be at least thirty years old, a citizen of the United States for nine years, and a resident of the state which he represents.

When the House of Representatives has brought impeachment charges against some officer, the Senate tries the accused person and decides his guilt or innocence. A two-thirds vote is necessary to convict him. If no candidate for Vice President has obtained a majority of the electoral votes, the Senate chooses the Vice President. In two other important matters the Senate has much power. Most appointments to office which the President makes must be approved by the Senate. Treaties, which are made under the President's direction, must also be ratified by the Senate. In this case a two-thirds vote is needed. The Senate, therefore, has considerable influence in determining the country's foreign policy.

Find out from the Constitution how senators were originally chosen.

The presiding officer in the Senate is the Vice President, who takes no part in debate, and votes only when there is a tie. The Senate elects one of its own members as *president pro tempore*, who presides when the Vice President is absent, and who becomes the permanent presiding officer if the vice presidency is vacant. The Senate also has a secretary, a doorkeeper, a postmaster, a chaplain, and a sergeant-at-arms.

How many senators were there in 1789? how many today? Who are the Senators from your state, and when do their terms expire? Who are now Vice President and President *pro tempore*?

234. General Facts about Congress. — Several principles that govern the conduct of the members of our national Congress are borrowed more or less directly from the customs of the English Parliament. For instance, no member can be called to account outside of Congress for anything he says while there. The house to which he belongs may punish him for abusing this privilege, but no one who feels injured by something a Congressman has said may proceed against him personally unless the objectionable remarks were made outside of Congress.

In order to prevent the bringing of private lawsuits or other legal obstacles to hinder a Congressman's attendance upon his duties, the Constitution provides that a member shall be free from arrest while present at the sessions of Congress and while going to and from them, except for the commission of a crime. A person engaged in making the laws certainly ought not to break them, and there is no reason for excusing from the proper penalties a Congressman who so far forgets the dignity of his office as to become a violator of the law.

Each house is the judge of the qualifications and conduct of its own members. If a person is a known law-breaker, or

if his election was obtained dishonestly, he may be refused admission. If two persons claim to have been elected to the same seat, the house which is concerned decides whom to admit. Perhaps this matter would have been better left to the courts, for now the vote in such cases is generally along party lines. Each house may reprimand or even expel a member for improper conduct. But a two-thirds vote is required to expel him, so as to make it unlikely that a member will be expelled merely to secure party advantage.

Each Congress has at least two regular sessions during the two years of its life. They begin on the first Monday of December in each year. Since the session beginning in December of even years ends on the next 4th of March, it is commonly called the *short* session. The other one, by contrast, is the *long* session. The President may also call *special* sessions of the two houses together or of either one alone.

A majority of the members is necessary to make up a *quorum* — that is, the number who must be present in order to carry on business legally. If a sufficient number are not on hand, those who are present may have the absent members brought in. In the House, too, the presiding officer counts every member as present if he is in the hall, even though he does not vote.

Each house keeps a journal, or official record, of its proceedings, and has it printed in that extraordinary publication known as the *Congressional Record.* The *Record* is supposed to be a word for word account of everything said in the sessions, and parts of it may be printed separately and sent out free of postage. Congressmen often abuse this privilege by getting "leave to print" or to "extend their remarks in the *Record.*" Thus they get everything they want printed at little expense to themselves, and send back to the admiring folks at home copies of long speeches which were never delivered at all. This is particularly common when a congressman is running for reëlection.

Each house also makes its own rules of order. These differ in some notable respects, for things often need to be done differently in a body of fewer than a hundred men and in an assembly of over

four hundred. The House adopts a set of rules at the beginning of each new Congress, although these generally do not differ very much from those of the preceding Congress. The rules of the Senate continue unchanged except when the Senate takes special action to alter them.

In the House, the time that any member may occupy in debate is definitely limited. In the Senate, however, members may in most cases talk as long and as often as they please.[1] This privilege is supposed to make possible the bringing out of all possible arguments on a disputed question, though it is doubtful whether the vote of a single senator is ever changed by the long-winded discussions that sometimes occur. Occasionally, notably near the end of a session of Congress, a trick known as "filibustering" is undertaken. By talking indefinitely and doing other things to take up time, a very few senators have been able to prevent the passage of measures desired by a great majority of the whole body.

The Constitution declares that members of Congress shall be paid a salary out of the national treasury. At first it was fixed by law at $6 a day, but has now been raised to $7500 a year. This is supplemented by various extras, such as a private secretary at $3200 a year, mileage to and from Washington at the beginning and end of a session, free stationery, and the "franking" privilege of sending mail free which deals with public business. The salary is not enormous, it is true, but it is more than some Congressmen could get at anything else, and with economy a Congressman can live on it very comfortably in Washington.

No member of Congress may hold any other office under the United States at the same time. He may, however, resign from Congress and then take another office. But not even this is permitted if the office was created or if its salary was increased during the time for which the person was elected to Congress. If this restriction did not exist, Congressmen might cause salaries to be raised or new offices established for the special purpose of getting them.

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[1] If two-thirds of the senators sign a petition asking to have debate brought to a close on some measure, no senator may afterward talk more than an hour on that question.

If a Congressman in a speech on the floor of the House accused the President's wife of being a thief, what, if anything, could be done about it? A Congressman in Washington once shot a negro in a street car. Could anything be done to him?

A Congress whose members are elected in November, 1922, and who are sworn in on March 4, 1923, will not meet until December, 1923, unless the President calls them in special session. Does this arrangement seem sensible? Find out whether special sessions are common.

235. Steps in Enacting a Law. — A very large part of the business of Congress is done through committees. When a new Congress begins, a large number of standing, or permanent, committees are organized in each house to deal with certain kinds of business, as Interstate and Foreign Commerce, or Post Offices and Post Roads. After a bill is introduced, it is referred to one of these committees. In the House the Ways and Means Committee, which considers all tax laws, is considered most important. To be chairman of this committee is an honor second only to that of being Speaker. The majority party controls all important committees. Membership on them is really determined by the leaders of the parties in

Union Calendar No. 359.

65TH CONGRESS, 3D SESSION. **H. R. 15302.**

[Report No. 1015.]

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

JANUARY 28, 1919.

Mr. BURNETT introduced the following bill, which was referred to the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization and ordered to be printed.

JANUARY 29, 1919.

Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union and ordered to be printed.

A BILL

To prohibit immigration for a period of four years, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the passage of this Act, and until the expiration of four years next after its passage, the immigration of aliens to the United States be, and the same is hereby, prohibited, and during such time it shall not be lawful for any alien to come from any foreign port or place, or having so come, to remain within the United States: *Provided*, That this section shall not apply to otherwise admissible aliens lawfully resident in the United States, nor to otherwise admissible aliens of the following status or occupations:

FIRST PAGE OF A PRINTED BILL

This bill did not finally pass, but it shows the form in which bills are printed. The notes above the title show how far the bill had proceeded at the time this was printed.

Congress, but usually those who have been members longest hold the chairmanships or other places of leadership on committees.

Since many thousands of bills are introduced in every Congress, it would be utterly impossible to allow every bill to be debated by the whole membership. Each committee acts on only the bills which it wishes to consider of all those which are turned over to its tender mercies. Good bills as well as bad ones may be "killed" by a committee's refusal to pay any attention to them.

Committees in Congress and other law-making bodies sometimes arrange for "hearings" on certain bills. At such times persons who are interested are allowed to present arguments for or against a measure. Persons who visit members of a law-making body and try to influence their vote on matters are usually called "lobbyists." A person may "lobby" for a good bill, but "lobbyists" as a class are often considered a nuisance. Some states require a person to register with some official if he wishes to do any "lobbying."

Find out the names of the chief standing committees of the two houses of Congress. Do any of the members from your state hold prominent positions on them? How many bills were introduced into the last Congress?

It is a common requirement that a bill must have three "readings" in each house, each on a different day. It is not read in full each time, however. In some state legislatures bills may not be offered during the last few days of a session. Do you think these regulations are good?

The ordinary process which a bill goes through in order to become a law is about as follows:

It may be introduced by any member of either house, unless it is a revenue bill, which must come from the House of Representatives.[1] Then the presiding officer refers it to the committee which considers that kind of bills. At this point the great mass of all

[1] Introducing a bill is a very simple matter. It usually consists simply of handing the bill to the clerk or putting it in a basket on the clerk's desk.

bills quietly meet a peaceful death. The committee does nothing with them and they are never heard of again.

If the committee decides that a measure ought to receive further consideration, it will report the bill favorably to the house, perhaps offering some amendments. After the report, the bill is put upon the calendar, to wait its turn.

When that time comes, it may be debated and perhaps amended. In the House of Representatives the greater part of the discussion is carried on while the House is meeting under the name of the "committee of the whole." The final vote on a bill is almost always taken by a roll call of the members. If a majority of the members present and voting are in favor of it, it will be passed, as far as that house is concerned.

All this has taken place in the house where the bill was introduced. Then it goes to the other house and must run an exactly similar gantlet there. If it is amended in the least, it must go back to the first house for its agreement. If the first house does not agree to the changes, a special *conference committee*, made up of members from both houses, will try to harmonize the differences between them.

When a bill has been agreed to by both houses in exactly the same form, it is sent to the President. After a bill gets to the President, he may treat it in three ways: (1) He may indicate his approval by signing it. (2) He may keep it ten days without taking any action on it, when it will become a law anyway, except as mentioned below. Treatment of this kind would indicate that there were some features about it which he did not like, but that for some reason he did not care to prevent its passage. (3) He may "veto" the bill, sending it back without his signature to the house where it was introduced, with a message telling why he disapproves it. Then the two houses by a two-thirds vote can pass it over his veto. This rarely happens.

If the President vetoes a bill and either house cannot give a two-thirds vote in its favor, the bill is dead, for that session at least. And if a session of Congress comes to an end before the ten days have expired which are granted to the President to think over a bill, that bill is considered dead. Putting an end to a bill in this way is known as a "pocket veto."

236. Laws That Congress May Pass. — The powers which the Constitution gives to Congress may be classified under six heads:

(1) *Financial.*
- (*a*) To lay and collect practically all kinds of taxes except taxes on exports (but all taxes must be uniform throughout the United States).
- (*b*) To borrow money on the credit of the United States. (This is usually done through selling bonds just as any corporation might sell them.)
- (*c*) To coin money and regulate its value and the value of foreign coin.
- (*d*) To provide for the punishment of counterfeiters.

(2) *Military.*
- (*a*) To provide and maintain an army and navy. (That this may not be done contrary to the people's desire, Congress may not appropriate money for this purpose for a longer period than two years. In fact appropriations are made year by year.)
- (*b*) To provide for calling out the militia and to make rules for its organization.
- (*c*) To declare war.
- (*d*) To make rules in regard to captures in war.
- (*e*) To grant letters of marque and reprisal (§ 220).

(3) *Territorial.*
- (*a*) To make all necessary laws for the government of the territory belonging to the United States.
- (*b*) To admit states into the Union.
- (*c*) To govern the District of Columbia, the seat of the national government.
- (*d*) To exercise authority over any place purchased by the national government and used for national purposes.

(4) *Commercial.*
- (*a*) To regulate commerce between the states, with foreign countries, and with Indian tribes.
- (*b*) To establish post offices and post roads.
- (*c*) To enact patent and copyright laws.
- (*d*) To fix the standard of weights and measures.
- (*e*) To make laws governing bankruptcy.

(5) *Political.*

(*a*) To pass naturalization laws.

(*b*) To determine the punishment for treason.

(*c*) To regulate the punishment of piracy and other offenses committed on the sea and offenses against international law.

(*d*) To organize courts below the Supreme Court.

(*e*) To propose amendments to the Constitution. (In this case a two-thirds vote is needed.)

(6) *General.*

To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution any powers vested by the Constitution in any national officer. (This is sometimes called the "elastic clause.")

Some of the powers mentioned above, such as the fixing of the standard of weights and measures, Congress has never exercised very fully. Others, however, are exercised in a very broad fashion these days. It does not, of course, actually *do* many of these things itself, but it authorizes other people to do them. You remember the argument of the "broad" and "strict" constructionists of the Constitution which centered in part around the "elastic clause." The decisions of Chief Justice John Marshall, whose court had to consider an exceptional number of cases involving this point, virtually determined that the broad construction idea should prevail. As a matter of course many measures are enacted today to which nobody objects, but for which it would be hard to find definite authority in the Constitution.

Go over a list of laws passed by Congress at its last session or any other recent one and try to discover what particular power mentioned in the Constitution justifies the passage of each law. Do not try to excuse too many of them by reason of the elastic clause.

237. Poor Kinds of Laws. — Some people seem to have the idea that if we see an evil all we need to do to correct it is to pass a law about it. This may be a great mistake. Sometimes it is the very thing we should not want to do. Probably we have too many laws. Perhaps we even have too many that were honestly meant to accomplish good.

We should not have laws which cannot be enforced. For that reason we should be sure that the majority of the people

either demand that a law should be passed or do not object to it. We should not undertake, either, to make many laws about matters of slight importance. It is an old legal theory that everybody is supposed to be familiar with all the laws. But if there is any chance of our making this theory true, we must not have so many laws and such unimportant ones that an intelligent citizen could not be expected to be acquainted with them.

Generally speaking we should not pass laws for the special benefit of one class or a few individuals. Sometimes a law will do some people more good than others. But the general welfare of all the people deserves first consideration. We should never have laws which distinctly harm the masses for the benefit of a few. We should not have "class legislation" of any sort.

A law which is hard to understand or is capable of being interpreted in more than one way is another poor sort of law. Sometimes laws have been drawn up ambiguously on purpose to make it difficult to enforce them. Some firms, whose standard of honor is none too high, employ attorneys whose only business is to see how the firm can evade the law. There is no sense, either, in drawing up laws in such obscure language that the mass of the people cannot comprehend them, even though a lawyer might have no doubt as to their meaning. Here is a big chance to improve our methods of government and make the people feel that the laws are their laws and not made by lawyers for their own advantage.

What is your opinion of such laws as the following: (*a*) Taxing the number of windows in a building; (*b*) Regulating the size of windows in buildings; (*c*) Exempting printers from paying taxes; (*d*) Forbidding the use of face powder by girls; (*e*) Forbidding the driving of pleasure cars after 10 P.M.?

238. Setting Laws Aside. — Suppose we find or believe that a law is bad. What should we do about it? Some people have the notion that they can simply ignore it and do as they please. Such a principle is wholly wrong. If everybody were

obliged to obey only the laws which he likes, we could not expect to make some people attend school or others refrain from breaking into other people's houses. As long as a law is on our statute books we must obey it. We have a perfect right, however, to urge that any law which we think is unwise or

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A Boat in the Prohibition "Navy"

Since liquor is smuggled into the country by night from vessels stationed outside the three-mile limit, it is necessary to have special boats to help break up the practice. This boat was once a submarine chaser.

wrong should be changed. Any fair and square and straightforward way to influence public sentiment so that the mass of the people shall think as we do is only an exercise of the American privilege of free speech and a free press.

A law may be altered or repealed by the same method by which it was passed. A legislature which passed a law can set it aside, and one legislature may set aside laws which the legislatures before it have passed. This kind of thing should not be done too often, else nobody would be sure what

the laws commanded at any particular time. But the right to make changes is unquestioned. Even our Constitutions, state or national, may be amended by striking out something as well as by adding something. The method of doing it is the same in both cases.

Still another way is available for setting aside some laws. If people believe that a law is in conflict with the Constitution of our state or of the national government, they can arrange to have a case brought up in court to test the law. Then if the highest court declares that the law is contrary to the Constitution, the executive officers will no longer try to enforce it.

We can be very sure that any law against which there is any real objection will be tested by some one of the lawful and proper means of doing that very thing. After all, the good citizen will not ask, "How few laws need I obey?" but, "What laws will best promote the people's welfare?" and, "How can I coöperate in making those laws do as much good as possible?"

Are laws anything more than good manners written down? Are laws solely for the purpose of preventing people from doing what they would like to do? Is a person ever justified in breaking a law?

Law-making is at the basis of all government. Obedience to law is a fundamental duty of every citizen. Laws should be thoughtfully made and intelligible.

In our states and in our national government a bicameral legislature is found. Our Congress is composed of a Senate and a House of Representatives, with members chosen in each state by popular vote. Many features of their methods are determined by custom or by rules which they themselves adopt, but their power in law-making is limited to a definite set of matters specified in the Constitution. These provisions are usually interpreted broadly. Laws, whether state or national, should be obeyed until they are repealed or replaced by others.

SPECIAL TOPICS

What a Congressman Has to Do.
A Day's Work in Congress.
Leading Members of the Present Congress.
The Speaker and His Power.
The Committees of Congress.
The Congressman from Our District.
The Senators from Our State.
The Details of Law-Making.

READINGS

Lessons in Community and National Life, B–17, B–18.
Haines — Your Congress.
Magruder — American Government, Chapters 5–7.
Haskin — American Government, Chapters 20–22.

CHAPTER XXXIII

THE PRESIDENT

"He is ours to administer, to guard, to adorn the state,
But not to warp or change it." — Cowper.

239. Why Presidents Are Important. — No other official in all the world has quite the power which belongs to the President of the United States. Kings inherit their positions, but most kings today do only what they think will please the greater part of their people. The President is chosen indirectly by the people and is at all times one of them himself. After he retires from office, he may live no differently from any other well-known citizen. But while he is in office he represents the power of the nation in action. His influence, both as an official and as a man, may be tremendously great if he sees fit to exercise it.

The enforcement of the laws at home, the protection of the honor and dignity of the nation in its relations with other countries, the spirit and motives which shall rule our national policies, all depend in large measure upon the character and ability of the man who lives at the White House in Washington. It is right that the American people should feel that the election of any president may be the making or wrecking of a nation's opportunities for greatness or service, and it is not strange that every other civilized nation feels a deep interest in the outcome of our presidential campaigns.

His power is not absolute, of course. If Congress is controlled by the opposite party, his administration may be a continuous struggle, if indeed anything at all is accomplished. He can be impeached and, if found guilty of misconduct, removed from office. In war time Congress invariably bestows more power

on the President, because at such a critical hour somebody must have authority to act promptly and forcefully. Much depends upon the personality of the man, too, whether he will seek to make himself a real leader or simply " go along " with others.

240. The Men Who Hold the Office. — Our Constitution says that the President must be 35 years old, a native-born American citizen, and a resident of this country for 14 years. Presidents are generally considerably older than 35. Roosevelt was our youngest President. He was not quite 43 when be became President through McKinley's death. The President is elected for a term of four years, which begins on the 4th of March of the year following leap year. His inauguration, or formal introduction to office, is witnessed by many thousands of people from all parts of the country. The oath of office is usually administered to him by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

There is nothing in the Constitution to say how many terms the President may have. By custom, however, since Washington and Jefferson refused to take more than two terms, no other President has thus far been elected three times. Perhaps it is well, however, that our nation has not tied its hands in this matter, for the time might come when we should have very good reason for giving a president a third term.

One would suppose that each party would try to pick out its ablest and wisest members as candidates for this great office. Frequently, however, a great man who thinks forcibly about public questions will have definite opinions and therefore may have made some enemies. A man whom the country does not know so well may not be handicapped by personal enemies. Several times parties have deliberately chosen some such "dark horse," thinking that he would get more votes than a better known man. Very often, too, parties take candidates from large states such as New York or Ohio, which sometimes support one party and sometimes another. Big states count a great deal when it comes to electing a president. The public at large very often does not know all the influences that are at work to bring about the nomination of one candidate by a certain party rather than some one else.

As a personal salary the President receives $75,000 a year. This sum is small in comparison with what the heads of most governments receive. For the last few years the President has been allowed also to spend a sum not greater than $25,000 a year for traveling. People in different parts of the country like to see the President. So that he may travel without either paying for such trips out of his

The White House at Washington

own pocket, or accepting favors from railroads and steamboat lines, the extra $25,000 has been voted.

The President lives in the famous White House at Washington during his term, except that in the summer he frequently spends at least part of the time in some seashore or country place where the climate is somewhat pleasanter than Washington weather in July or August. The executive offices, which the President's private secretary and assistants administer, the conservatories, and other sources of expense connected with the executive mansion and grounds, are met from the national treasury.

Is it wise or unwise to keep the President's salary at a comparatively low figure? A considerable number of officers of corporations receive more than the President. How many Presidents have had more than one term?

The suggestion has been made that the term should be extended to six years and no reëlection allowed. Does this impress you as wise? Would a business firm choose a general manager on such a principle? In selecting a president, should we be guided by any other consideration than those which a corporation would take into account in selecting its chief executive officials?

If the President dies, resigns, or is removed, the Vice President becomes President. He also will act as President if that officer is temporarily unable to serve for any reason, though thus far no occasion has arisen to make this necessary. It is evident that the office of Vice President ought to be filled with almost as much care as is shown in choosing the President himself. But in practice the candidates for this office are selected to represent a certain state or section or a disappointed faction of a party more often than for any other reasons.

The Constitution makes the Vice President the regular presiding officer of the Senate. This is not an attractive place for a man of active disposition, and on that account men of real ability have sometimes objected to being chosen Vice President. Not even attending Cabinet meetings, as he now does, is any great additional inducement.

What Vice Presidents became "accidental" Presidents? Were any of them afterward given a regular election to the presidency? Can you think of any way of increasing the dignity of the office of Vice President? Suppose there were any question as to a president's "inability" to serve. How ought the matter to be decided? Have such questions ever arisen (1881, 1919)?

The Constitution gives Congress the power to arrange for the filling of vacancies in the presidency that may occur when the vice presidency is itself vacant. The law now in force provides that the heads of the executive departments, commonly known as the *Cabinet*, shall form the line of succession, so far as those departments were in existence when the law was passed. The Secretary of State heads the list, followed by the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, the Attorney-General, the Postmaster-General, the Secretary of the Navy, and the Secretary of the Interior.

Why is it unlikely that any one further down the list than Secretary of State will ever act as president?

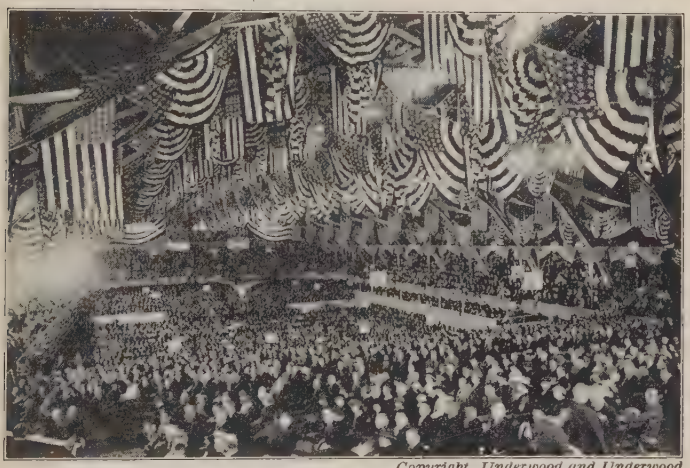
If the successful presidential candidate should die between the November election and the 4th of March, who do you suppose would be inaugurated?

241. The President's Election. — No part of the Constitution has worked as little in the way its makers expected as the method provided for electing the President. They planned that a body of electors, specially chosen for intelligence and judgment, should carefully weigh the merits of public men and vote according to their independent convictions for men to serve as president and vice president. Today, while the forms laid down in the Constitution are strictly observed, the electors are merely agents who vote as a matter of course for candidates who have been nominated beforehand by some political party. The process of selecting a president now includes the following steps:

(1) *The nomination of candidates.* — In the month of June or July in leap years each great political party holds a national convention in some large city of the country. Delegates to attend a party convention are chosen in each state by the members of the party in such a way as the laws of that state authorize or allow. Several candidates may be proposed before the convention by delegates from the different states. If more than one candidate is presented, the delegates take a formal ballot. Thirty or forty ballots are sometimes taken before a candidate is nominated. The Republicans require only a majority of delegates to make the nomination, but the Democrats require a two-thirds vote. A candidate for vice president is also selected. Before or after the nominations are made, a platform, or official statement of party principles, is adopted.

(2) *The choice of electors.* — The Constitution requires each state to choose a group of presidential electors equal in number to the senators and representatives from that state in Congress. The total number at present is 531. In such a way as the laws of a state may require, each party nominates a list of candidates for presidential electors. On the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November the voters of each state choose the electors for that state.

Each voter may vote for the entire number of electors to which his state is entitled. By custom and common consent it is understood that the Republican electors, for example, if they are chosen, will vote for the candidates already nominated by the national convention. A voter who favors the election of the Republican candidates for president and vice president will therefore, if he has good sense, vote for the whole list of electors nominated by that party; for the personal qualities of the electors are of no impor-



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A Presidential Nominating Convention

This convention, held in the Coliseum at Chicago, nominated Mr. Harding for the presidency in 1920.

tance, as they have nothing to do now but to perform a certain formal duty.

Most of the rest of the process which we are describing might as well be omitted, for it has no real importance. But the Constitution provides it, and it is carried out in due form.

(3) *Voting by the electors.* — The electors in each state meet at their state capital on the second Monday of the following January and cast their votes for the candidates of the parties which they represent. They make out three reports of their balloting and send two of them to the presiding officer of the Senate at Washington. The third is left with the United States district judge in whose district they meet.

(4) *Counting the electoral votes.* — On the second Wednesday in February both houses of Congress meet in the hall of the House of Representatives and in their presence the presiding officer of the Senate opens the returns and causes them to be formally counted. If it appears from this useless ceremony that some person has received a majority of the whole number of electoral votes for president or vice president, he is declared elected.

(5) *Special election by the Houses.* — If, however, no candidate for president has a majority, the election is referred to the House of Representatives, which will choose one of the three highest candidates. In this case the vote is taken by states, the members from each state casting one vote for their state. This has not happened since 1825. If no one has a majority for vice president, the Senate makes the choice, each member voting individually. This has happened only once — in 1837.

How much of this process of choosing a president could be safely done away with? Are any improvements possible?

242. What the President Does. — The powers and duties of the President are varied and extensive. He is first of all chief executive, but he has many opportunities to influence law-making directly and some other powers that are in part of a judicial character.

(1) It is his duty to see that "the laws be faithfully executed." He actually does very little of this work himself, but his attitude toward law-enforcement has a great effect upon the spirit with which subordinate officers go about their duties.

(2) He is commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States and of the state militia when called into the federal service. He may use this power in any way that is necessary to make the laws of the country obeyed.

Can the President declare war? Can he make war inevitable? Is there any way of restraining the President in the exercise of military powers? Could he take actual command of the army and navy in time of war? Would he be likely to want to do so?

(3) He appoints all officers of the United States whose appointments are not otherwise provided for, subject in most cases to the approval of the Senate. Any appointments made when the Senate is not in session will hold good until the end of the next session of that body. Along with the power of appointment goes the duty of signing the commissions of officers and the power to remove them from office. He may not remove federal judges, however.

(4) He may make treaties with foreign countries. Here, too, the approval of the Senate is necessary, and in this case a two-thirds vote is required. Usually the President directs some other official to do the actual work of treaty-making, though he has the right to do it in person.

(5) He decides whether to receive persons sent from other countries as ambassadors or ministers. The use of this power often has an important effect upon our relations with other countries.

(6) He must give consideration to all measures passed by Congress. This power gives him an effective voice in connection with law-making. The number of bills vetoed by most Presidents is not very great, however. Sometimes the President will notify the leaders in Congress in advance that he will veto a certain bill if it comes to him, and then they may refrain from passing it.

(7) He prepares a message to Congress at the beginning of each session and at such other times as he thinks desirable. In this message he may, as the Constitution suggests, give Congress some "information of the state of the Union" which they have not obtained through the newspapers. Most often, however, the message is of importance in mentioning matters on which the President thinks Congress ought to act, and sometimes in making direct suggestions as to laws that he thinks they ought to pass.

For a long time the presidents, beginning with Jefferson, who was not a good speaker, sent these messages in writing. But President Wilson, believing that these messages would receive better attention if delivered in person, adopted the method of speaking to Congress directly. This plan was continued by President Harding and probably will be regularly observed hereafter.

(8) To obtain information for his own sake or to present to the country, he may require reports from the heads of the cabinet departments on matters which concern them.

(9) He may call a special session of Congress when he thinks the needs of the country demand it. If the two houses disagree about the time of adjournment, the President may fix the date.

(10) He may grant reprieves and pardons to persons convicted of crimes against federal laws. A *reprieve* is a delay in carrying out a sentence. A *pardon* releases a person from whatever part of a sentence has not been carried out. He may also exercise the power of *commutation*, that is, making a sentence less severe. This form of judicial authority is a survival of one of the old powers of the English king. It does not extend to cases where an official has been impeached, else one of the checks which Congress has upon the other two departments would be made almost worthless.

This power might be abused by a president to set law-breakers free by the wholesale, but no one has ever done so.

In fact, the worst charge that can be truthfully made against any of our presidents is that they have made mistakes, and have at times done the thing that seemed most advantageous politically rather than that which demanded the highest moral courage. But they will compare more than favorably with any line of rulers that any other country has ever had.

Is there any respect in which you think the power of the President should be altered? Mention occasions when the action of the President determined the course of our history. What questions of precedent or authority were raised by President Wilson's participation in the Peace Conference at Versailles?

Our President is perhaps the most powerful official in any government, though for political reasons the ablest men among us have sometimes failed to get the office. The Constitution requires that he should be chosen by electors, who are chosen by the voters of each state in numbers equal to the state's representatives in Congress. While his first duty is to serve as chief executive, he has the veto power and some other duties closely related to the legislative and judicial phases of the government's work.

SPECIAL TOPICS

The White House.

The Life of the President.

Our Present President.

The Presidents Whom I Regard Most Highly.

Resolved, that the President should be chosen by direct vote of the people.

Some Famous Presidential Elections.

An Inauguration Day.

What I Would Do if I Were Master of the White House.

Resolved, that the President ought to be elected by Congress and subject to recall by it.

READINGS

Magruder — American Government, Chapter 8.

Haskin — American Government, Chapter 1.

CHAPTER XXXIV

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS

"Statesman, yet friend to truth! of soul sincere,
In action faithful, and in honor clear;
Who broke no promise, served no private end,
Who gained no title, and who lost no friend." — *Pope.*

243. The Cabinet and Its Work in General. — The Constitution nowhere states that there shall be a Cabinet. In Article II, Section 2, there are two allusions to the heads of departments, but everything else about the Cabinet is the outgrowth of custom, not of the Constitution or of any law. The ten executive departments are each established by act of Congress, but in no law are they required or assumed to act together. The President appoints the heads of departments for a term which is supposed to be four years. But since they may be removed whenever the President wishes to make a change, their term is really subject to the President's wishes.

In Washington's presidency four officials composed his list of advisors — the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, and the Attorney-General. In 1798 the Secretary of the Navy was added. In 1829 the Postmaster-General, whose office had existed for many years, began to be considered one of the Cabinet. In 1849 the Secretary of the Interior was provided for, and in 1889 the Secretary of Agriculture. In 1903 a new department was created which ten years later was divided into two, headed by the Secretary of Commerce and the Secretary of Labor. Since 1921 the Vice President has been invited by the President to attend Cabinet meetings.

Why is it good to have the Vice President at Cabinet meetings? Who are the present members of the Cabinet?

There are two general functions which the Cabinet exercises:

(1) Each member is the head of an administrative department, and has authority over the subordinate officials and employees of that department. Each Cabinet member is

President Harding and His Cabinet

responsible to the President for the management of his department.

(2) The members, either individually or as a group, act as advisors to the President. Washington at first consulted them separately, but it was not long before the custom was established of holding meetings at which all the members might express opinions on questions of public policy. Now meetings are held regularly twice a week and special meetings occur when the President wishes them. Often the President asks the opinions of the Cabinet on important policies connected with his administration, but he does not feel under any obligation to follow their advice. Lincoln,

for instance, issued the Emancipation Proclamation without any suggestion from the Cabinet except as to the date when it should be published. Cabinet members do not always agree. A member, however, who repeatedly finds himself out of harmony with the President or his associates usually resigns.

Since these departments have grown up partly by accident and without any general plan, their work occasionally overlaps. Several times there have been proposals for completely reorganizing a number of the departments, abolishing some, and establishing two or three new ones. Quite likely some such reorganization will some time take place, but it is difficult to work out any plan that will not hurt the feelings of somebody who is in office now. A new Department of Education is the one most often proposed in addition to the present list.

After you have studied the work of the different departments, see whether you think you could propose any more business-like arrangement than that which now exists.

244. Duties of the Departments. — The Secretary or other official at the head of each department has from one to four assistants, and in some cases several thousand subordinate employees and clerks. The departments are organized in bureaus or divisions, each of which is supposed to have some special function to perform.

I. *Department of State.* — If there is any distinction in rank among the departments in the Cabinet, the first mention goes to the Department of State. The Secretary of State is at its head and the Under-secretary is next in rank. This department, under the President's direction, has charge of our foreign relations. It deals with foreign ministers to this country and has supervision over our own representatives abroad (§ 256). It frequently undertakes the work of making treaties.

The department also has certain clerical duties. It keeps the originals of all laws and treaties and has charge of the great seal of the United States, which must appear on the President's proclamations and on many other public documents.

II. *Department of the Treasury.* — This department has the oversight of the financial affairs of the United States. The Secretary of the Treasury has general responsibility for the entire depart-

ment. The Treasurer of the United States has actual charge of the government's money. The Comptroller of the Currency has special oversight of national banks. The Register of the Treasury keeps a record of all paper money, bonds, and the like, issued by the government. The Commissioner of Internal Revenue supervises the collection of domestic taxes levied by the national government. The Director of the Mint has charge of the coining of money. The Superintendent of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing has

Soldiers Training in the Use of the Bayonet

charge of the printing of paper money and various sorts of certificates. The Director of the Budget works out a general program for the spending of money by the national government each year. The Veteran's Bureau looks after the former soldiers who are still under the government's special care. The Secret Service was originally established to detect counterfeiters and so was placed in this department, although it does many other kinds of work. The Public Health Service and the Coast Guard originally worked in connection with the collection of import duties and so are still in this department, although their main services are not at all connected with financial affairs.

III. *Department of War.* — This department has charge of the United States Army and of activities connected with the defence of the country, such as fortifying the coasts and improving the rivers and harbors. One of the greatest engineering works

of all times, the Panama Canal, was constructed under the direction of Colonel George W. Goethals and his assistants from the Engineering Corps of the army. The General Staff is composed of a group of army officers of different grades, who serve as a sort

International

THE "NEVADA" AT TARGET PRACTICE

The targets were about 12 miles away. The holes show that the aim of the gunners was accurate.

of connecting link between the War Department and the army itself. The head of it is the Chief of Staff, who is, while he holds this position, the highest officer of the army. The Military Academy at West Point and special training camps conducted by the department at various places in the country are also supervised

by the War Department. The Bureau of Insular Affairs, which oversees the government of our island possessions, is also in this department.

IV. *Department of Justice.* — This department is headed by the Attorney-General, who is the legal advisor for the President and other departments of the government. The Solicitor-General also has important duties in this connection. Some official of the department has charge of every case in the federal courts in which the United States is concerned. The prosecution of persons accused of breaking federal laws is conducted under this department's direction.

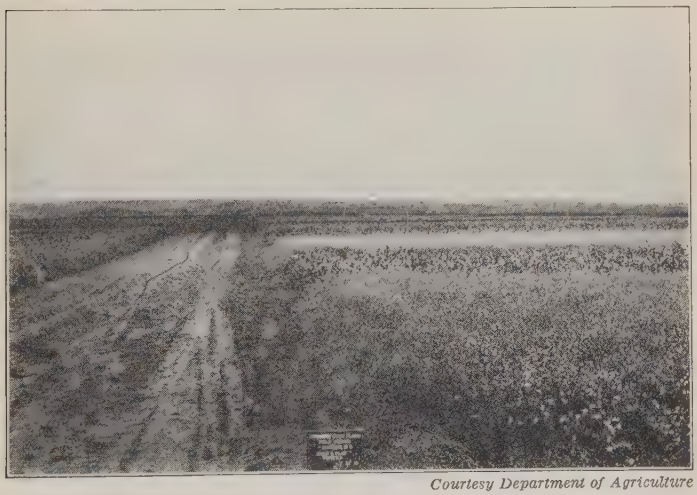
V. *Post Office Department.* — The Post Office Department is headed by the Postmaster-General. We have already explained the various services which this department renders (§ 92). Every postmaster or clerk or mail carrier is an officer of the United States as truly as the President himself. Probably no other branch of the national government comes as closely in contact with the ordinary citizen as does the Post Office Department.

VI. *Department of the Navy.* — This department has charge of the construction, equipment, and repair of war vessels, and the general direction of their operations. It oversees the Naval War College and the Naval Academy at Annapolis.

VII. *Department of the Interior.* — This department supervises all the domestic activities of the federal government that are not handled elsewhere. Each of the Bureaus or Divisions which compose it is headed by a person known as Commissioner or Director. The General Land Office has charge of the public lands of the United States. The Bureau of Pensions examines claims for pensions by former soldiers or sailors and has charge of the payment of those pensions which have been granted. The Bureau of Indian Affairs looks after the Indian tribes who are still living on reservations. The Bureau of Patents has charge of the granting of patents to inventors. The Bureau of Education collects facts and figures in regard to educational conditions in the country and publishes bulletins for the information of the people. The Geological Survey studies the formation of the land and the natural resources contained in it. The Reclamation Service has charge of the irrigation of desert lands and the construction of the great irrigation dams and reservoirs. The Bureau of Mines makes investigations in regard to the safety of people employed in mines and conducts experiments with reference to the economical management of mining operations.

VIII. *Department of Agriculture.* — This department began in

a very modest way to work for the benefit of the farmers of the country. But it now has charge of a wide range of activities that affect the health and prosperity of everybody. We know something of the services of the Weather Bureau. The Bureau of Animal Industry inspects meat intended to be shipped in interstate or foreign commerce, and tries to prevent diseases among cattle. The Bureau of Plant Industry inspects methods of improving crops, preventing the growth of harmful plants and in-



Courtesy Department of Agriculture

AN EXPERIMENT STATION, MANDAN, NORTH DAKOTA

Corn and flax have been planted in rotation in this field.

troducing new varieties. Experiment stations at various places try to discover what crops can best be grown in those neighborhoods. The Bureau of Forestry has charge of the national forest reserves. The Bureau of Chemistry examines foodstuffs and drugs to see whether they contain anything in violation of the national law.

IX. *Department of Commerce.* — This department looks after the interests and needs of American commerce and trade. It contains the Bureaus of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, of Lighthouses, of Fisheries, of Navigation, of Standards, and the Coast and Geodetic Survey. The Census Bureau is probably the best known of all the branches of this department. Every ten years it makes a complete reckoning of the population of the United States as well as many other facts of importance. Between cen-

suses it tabulates and publishes the returns which have been brought in and occasionally conducts special investigations in regard to manufacturing, mining, or agriculture.

X. *Department of Labor.* — This department gathers information about conditions in labor and industry and seeks to improve them where it can help. It often tries to aid in settling serious labor disputes. The Bureau of Immigration receives and inspects the foreigners who seek to enter the country. The Bureau of Naturalization works to Americanize the foreigners who have been admitted. The Children's Bureau investigates anything that concerns the health, occupations, or general welfare of children. The Women's Bureau seeks to do a similar work for women, especially those engaged in industry.

245. Special Commissions. — Several important commissions are not connected with any department of the Cabinet. They are responsible directly to the President and make reports to him or to Congress.

(1) The *Interstate Commerce Commission*, first organized by Congress in 1887, has the oversight of national laws affecting Interstate Commerce. It now has 11 members. Its duties have already been explained (§ 157).

(2) The *Civil Service Commission* has the oversight of examinations held before appointments are made to a very large number of the government's servants. The Commission has three members appointed by the President, who must not all belong to the same political party. It has also a considerable force of examiners and clerks.

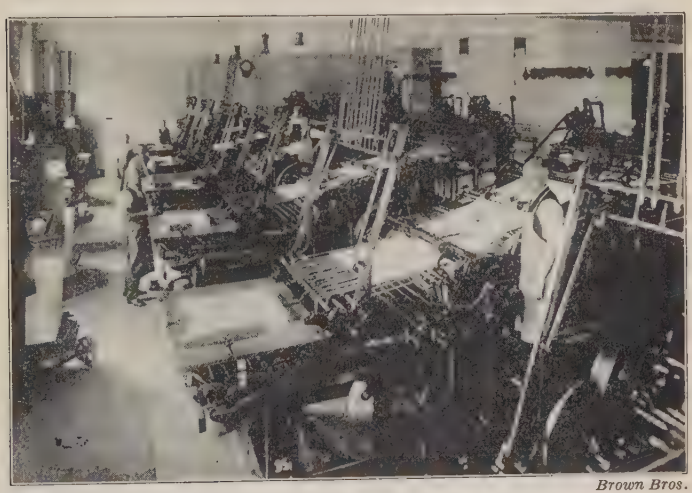
(3) The *Federal Trade Commission* investigates the business operations of large companies so as to prevent the use of unfair methods (§ 158). It has five members.

(4) The *Tariff Commission* is composed of six persons who must not all belong to the same party. It investigates business conditions in this country and other countries with the view of determining the proper duties to be charged on foreign goods imported to this country. If the policy is continued which the law of 1921 established, of giving the President the right to modify duties in the tariff laws, this Commission will become of great importance, for the President will doubtless depend almost wholly upon it for advice in regard to desirable changes.

246. Helpful Public Institutions. — Several institutions with headquarters in the city of Washington exist more or

less independently of other branches of the government and are important on their own account. We shall mention four of these:

The *Library of Congress* is one of the largest and finest in the world. It has at present over 2,000,000 publications on its shelves. In connection with the Library is conducted the granting of copyrights. A copyright may be granted to the author or publisher of a book, picture, piece of music, or other composition, allowing him



Brown Bros.

PRESSROOM IN THE GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE, WASHINGTON

the sole benefit of its publication for 28 years, and it may be renewed by him or his heirs for 28 years more.

The *Smithsonian Institution* and *National Museum* were founded for the purpose of carrying on scientific studies and preserving a collection of objects of historical or scientific interest. The institution was started with money left by an Englishman named James Smithson. It has assembled a marvelous collection of articles which could not possibly be duplicated anywhere.

The *Government Printing Office*, presided over by the Public Printer, is the largest printing office in the world. It prints the Congressional Record and the reports of the various departments. Several of the departments, notably the Department of the Interior and the Department of Agriculture, issue a large number

of pamphlets and bulletins containing a great variety of helpful information. These they either give away or sell at cost to those who wish them.

The *Pan-American Union* was organized for the purpose of collecting facts and spreading information about the countries of the New World so that they may know more about one another. The Director and his assistant try to create a friendly sentiment and common sympathy among the republics of North, Central, and South America. Their headquarters are in a fine building given by Andrew Carnegie. The support of this Union comes partly from the other countries of the New World.

In some places graduating classes in high schools make a trip to Washington instead of spending large sums on elaborate graduation exercises. Do you think this is worth while?

247. Selecting Officials in the Civil Service. — No sensible government would think of pursuing any other policy in its army and navy than picking out the best men available to put in responsible places. If this policy is right in the military and naval service, it seems strange that we have not pursued it also in the civil service — those positions whose work is primarily peaceful rather than connected with war-making. Yet from the time of Andrew Jackson onward, the "spoils system" was the regular policy of a new federal administration when it came into power. "Turn the rascals out" was a common slogan, but in practice everybody who belonged to the defeated party was considered a rascal, regardless of his real merits.

It is too bad that the American people had to let the "spoils system" kill a president before they realized how vicious it was. Some few reformers, indeed, did try earlier than that sad event to bring about an improvement in this matter, but the murder of President Garfield by a disappointed office-seeker brought up the matter in such a way that it could no longer be neglected.

In 1883 the Civil Service Commission was organized and given power to make rules with reference to the examination of candidates for appointment to office and to investigate violations of laws affecting office-holding. The Presi-

dent has the right to specify what offices shall be filled after examination. Postmasters, mail clerks, mail carriers, clerks in the departments at Washington, and almost all appointees who need technical or scientific knowledge, must pass an examination. Over three-fourths of the persons now in the service of the national government were appointed after getting their names on the list of "eligibles." President Roosevelt added more offices to the list than all the other presidents together, but Cleveland, Taft, and Wilson also deserve much credit for similar service in the cause of good government.

Examiners connected with the Civil Service Commission pass judgment upon all papers and other information furnished by candidates for appointment in the "classified service." Usually the rules permit the appointing officer to take some one of the three highest on the list at the time an appointment is to be made. This opportunity for selection gives some chance for picking a candidate for party reasons. But it still ought to assure the appointment of a person who possesses a reasonable amount of general intelligence.

No examinations yet devised could test surely the qualifications needed to be a member of the Cabinet or to hold some other office requiring broad knowledge and high executive ability. Besides, it is not unreasonable to expect that persons who must intimately be associated with an official in high rank should be personally agreeable. For these reasons and others, we are therefore not likely to ask the persons who are appointed to the highest administrative offices to pass examinations.

For which of the following offices do you think civil service examinations should be required: justices of the Supreme Court, member of the Tariff Commission, Librarian of Congress, clerk in a custom house, driver of a mail truck, editor of publications in the Department of Agriculture, inspector in a meat-packing plant? What sort of examinations, if any, would you give in each case? What do you think of the policy of allowing the appointing officer to take one of the three highest names on the eligible list?

248. Removing Public Officers. — Sad but true it is that sometimes Americans who have no right to ask such honor

get into office. Occasionally one is dishonest. More often the fault is plain unfitness for the position. For the good of the nation such men ought not to be allowed to remain in public service.

We have already noticed that either house of Congress may expel one of its own members by a two-thirds vote, and that any persons appointed by the President may also be removed by him, except judges. The same rule applies to persons appointed by lower administrative officers; but those appointed under civil service rules may not be removed without cause, and they may receive a formal hearing of the charges against them if they wish it.

One method provided by the Constitution may be used against a president, vice president, judge, or any administrative officer. That is *impeachment*. Formal charges of impeachment may be drawn up by vote of the House of Representatives. The impeached person is then tried before the Senate. If the President is under impeachment, the chief justice presides, but in other cases the Vice President or president *pro tempore*. If two-thirds of the senators present vote against him, the accused person is found guilty. In that case he must be removed from office, and may be disqualified from holding any other office under the United States.

Thus far impeachment proceedings have been used only against men holding prominent offices and accused of really serious misconduct. Experience shows that it is much easier to impeach than to convict, for out of eleven impeachments the Senate convicted only three persons. Some other means than impeachment has always been found sufficient in the cases where lower officers were to be removed.

May a postmaster be impeached? a member of Congress? an army officer?

249. Problems of Law Enforcement. — Making laws is likely to be easier than putting them into operation. That has always been true. Law-enforcement is not a new prob-

lem, though perhaps that is poor consolation for the fact that it *is* a real problem right now. You can make laws on paper, but when you try to enforce them you are sometimes going to run up against very disagreeable human nature and most unyielding stubbornness. Not everybody, therefore, can be a good executive official even when he tries to do so.

Keystone View Co.

PROOFS OF GUILT

This still was seized by prohibition enforcement agents of the United States government. Violations of law on this scale cannot escape discovery very long if officers are honest and vigilant.

The first requirement in enforcing laws is to get officials who will be thoroughly honest, intelligent, and earnest. It probably does more harm than good to have a law which officials do not try to carry out. Sometimes they are too stupid to recognize when laws are violated or to know how to get at the offender. To appoint a person to an office just because he is a politician's friend is not at all likely to get the right man in the right place.

Sometimes officers are rewarded in some way or other for

not getting the person who has broken a law. It is hard to have any respect for officers who take bribes for winking at violations of law, or who show favoritism in arresting some people and doing nothing to others. But the temptation that is sometimes brought to bear on officers whose duty it is to carry out the law is exceedingly great.

To make laws respected, the impression must be made upon the minds of possible law-breakers that everybody in public office is determined to punish those who do not respect the people's will. One of the very disheartening difficulties that people in ordinary positions experience is to discover some wrong-doing, report the guilty party and cause his arrest, and then find that somebody higher up has caused the prosecution to be set aside. The influence which politicians of high rank sometimes exert in their own behalf or in behalf of their friends is exceedingly demoralizing to law enforcement. A policeman has little heart to arrest a law-breaker a second time after he has once seen the fellow let off without punishment. No good citizen would try to prevent his friends from meeting the penalty that deliberate law-breaking ought to receive. But too many are not good citizens when it comes to this point.

Law enforcement depends much, too, upon the sentiment of the people. Americans do not have a first-class reputation for enforcing or obeying laws. Public sentiment can make it easy or almost impossible for laws to be enforced thoroughly. If people try to conceal law-breakers or encourage them in disregarding the law, the most vigilant officials have a hard time ahead of them.

Public sentiment can do more than officers can do to cause laws to be enforced. But, of course, neither can be very effective alone. People do not seem to realize that in any free country all laws are *their* laws, made by their representatives. If they break their own laws, can they call themselves really enlightened? For the public to desire that law-breakers get what is coming to them, and to have in-

telligent, persevering officials who never let up in their vigilance, is the only way to bring about really effective enforcement of law.

Are there any circumstances which would justify letting a person off who knowingly broke a law?

There are ten departments of the Cabinet, and several commissions and other bodies, all of which have important duties in connection with the administration of laws. The selection of honest, capable officials is sometimes a difficult matter, and even when we have them they sometimes fail to be properly supported by public sentiment. Any standard less than the highest is unworthy of us.

SPECIAL TOPICS

A Sketch of the Present Cabinet.
The Treasury Building.
The Bureau of Engraving and Printing.
The Life and Work of a Soldier.
The Life and Work of a Sailor.
West Point and Annapolis.
The Different Types of War Vessels.
The Autobiography of a Letter.
The Dead Letter Office.
The Patent Office.
The Weather Bureau.
The Census Bureau.
A Civil Service Examination. (Let the class try one.)

Each of the four special institutions mentioned will also make an interesting study if time permits.

READINGS

Lessons in Community and National Life, A–12, B–13.
Magruder — American Government, Chapters 9–13.
Haskin — American Government, Chapter 25.
Marriott — Uncle Sam's Business, Chapter 17.

CHAPTER XXXV

OUR NATIONAL COURTS

"The true ambition there alone resides,
Where justice vindicates, and wisdom guides."
— Young.

250. The Work of Our National Courts. — In thinking of this topic we want to be sure to remember that ours is a *federal* government. Under our system, certain powers are definitely recognized as belonging to the nation, certain others as belonging to the states. Our national courts are limited, therefore, to questions that distinctly concern the Constitution of the United States or the laws of Congress or treaties that are made by the national government. They have nothing to do with the enforcement of a state law or with the policies on which the law is based. No matter how serious a crime may be committed in a state, even so dreadful an offense as murder, it will not ordinarily come at all under the jurisdiction of the national government.

If, however, the losing party in any case tried in a state court maintains that the law on which the decision was based is contrary to a law of Congress or the Constitution of the United States, then he may carry his case from the state court to the Supreme Court of the nation. The Supreme Court has the right to decide whether a state law conflicts with the higher authority of the nation. But only under such circumstances can a case be taken from a state court into a federal court.

The cases brought into courts may be grouped into two big classes, criminal and civil. *Criminal* cases — those in which persons are accused of breaking laws — may run all the way from stealing a loaf of bread to murdering a man. *Civil* suits — those in which one person or corporation claims to have been unfairly treated by another — are usually made the basis for a claim for money damages. In criminal cases the courts must decide whether the accused person has committed the crime with which he is charged, and if he has, whether he shall be given the extreme penalty provided by law or some lesser sentence. In civil suits the jury decides which of the two parties to the case is in the right, and if the *defendant* — the one who is sued — is believed to be in the wrong, how much he must pay the *plaintiff* — the person who brings the suit — as compensation.

Practically all cases tried in our federal courts may be included in three classes:

(1) Any cases arising from the enforcement of a law of Congress, or of the Constitution, or of a treaty made in accordance with it.

(2) Some cases which from their nature might not receive fair consideration in a state court: for example, disputes between the states, or between a state and a foreign country, and sometimes between citizens of different states. For fear that otherwise too many lawsuits between citizens of different states would be taken into the national court, Congress has provided that such cases must be brought in a state court unless the amount involved is $3000 or more.

(3) Another group of cases which could not be brought under the jurisdiction of any state: such, for example, as cases affecting persons representing foreign countries; crimes committed or other cases arising on the waters outside the limits of any state; and cases in which the United States itself is directly concerned.

All other cases will be tried in the courts of a state, a territory, or the District of Columbia. Our national courts have been very careful not to go beyond the boundaries which they believe were laid down for them by our Constitution.

Find examples of cases tried in our federal courts which illustrate each of these groups. Is any group likely to include criminal cases only? civil suits?

251. How Our National Courts Are Organized. — Our federal court system today does not differ in its general plan from that laid down in the famous Judiciary Act of 1789, which was one of the first laws passed by Congress under our present Constitution. Our Supreme Court is mentioned in the Constitution, but Congress was given power to provide for courts of lower grade.

As the foundation of our federal court system we have the *District Courts.* There is at least one such court in each state, and the larger states are divided into two or three districts, or even four as in New York and Texas. In each district there is at least one judge, and somewhat over 100 district judges in the whole country. In connection with each court there is also a United States District Attorney, who prosecutes offenders against the national laws; a United States Marshal, who arrests persons accused of breaking those laws, takes charge of convicted prisoners until they have been placed in a federal prison, and performs other duties such as the courts may demand; and United States Commissioners, before whom persons are brought when they are arrested and who decide whether there is enough evidence to warrant bringing the case up for trial. In these courts are tried almost all the original cases brought into the federal courts. By original jurisdiction, which is the only kind the district court has, we mean the right to try cases not previously heard in any other court.[1]

Above the district courts we have the *Circuit Courts of Appeals.* The states are grouped into nine circuits, each one of which contains at least three states. From two to five circuit judges are appointed in each circuit. The purpose of these courts is to hear appeals from the district courts. Sometimes the defeated party in a case maintains that the law has been incorrectly interpreted or that some feature of the trial was contrary to the usual custom or that in some other way he failed to receive the treatment to which he was entitled. In most cases that are brought before the Circuit Courts, the opinion of their judges is final. Only when the constitutionality of a law of Congress is called into the question or for some other special reason the ruling of the Supreme Court

[1] The method of trying cases in the United States district courts is much like that described in section 300.

is required, may the case be carried any further. The jurisdiction of the circuit courts is entirely appellate — that is, they consider only those cases that have already been tried in the district courts and from which appeals have been made on some ground. They do not hold formal trials.

The *Supreme Court* is made up of a chief justice and eight associate judges. It meets only at the city of Washington. The

THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

opinion of a majority of its nine members is sufficient to settle any particular case. It very seldom hears any witnesses. Lawyers for each side present their pleas directly to the court. Its principal duty is to pass final judgment on the interpretation of the laws of the Constitution, or decide whether national or state laws are contrary to the Constitution. Thus its jurisdiction is appellate, except in two cases. It has original jurisdiction in cases concerning the representatives of foreign countries and cases in which a state itself is directly concerned.

A few special courts have been created by Congress to deal with matters of peculiar character. The *Court of Claims*, made up of five judges meeting at Washington, hears money claims against the United States other than pensions. If it decides in favor of a claimant, he may then go before Congress and ask for an appropriation to pay off the claim. The *Court of Customs Appeals* is another court of five judges with power to make rulings on points arising under our tariff laws. The courts of the District of Columbia, by reason of their location, sometimes have to deal with cases

that would not come under an ordinary state court. Each territory has its own courts, too.

Summarize these facts about the federal courts in a chart or diagram.

252. Judges and Their Importance. — All federal judges are appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate, and their term is for good behavior, which generally means for life. They can be removed only by impeachment proceedings. They are separated as far as possible from any temptation on account of popular prejudice or political influence to consider anything else than their honest convictions in making a decision.

The supreme justices get $14,500 a year, with an extra $500 for the chief justice. Judges in the Circuit Court and the Court of Customs Appeals receive $8500; in the District Courts and the Court of Claims $7500, with $500 more for the chief justice of the Court of Claims. At the age of seventy a judge may resign or retire with his salary continued at the same rate, if he has already served ten years. But many judges prefer to continue all or a part of their work after reaching seventy.

The life term does not apply to district attorneys and marshals or to territorial judges. They are also appointed by the President, and their term is generally four years.

Is the life term for judges inconsistent with the general ideas of American government?

Since a judge has it in his power in some cases to take away a man's liberty by sending him to jail, and since the Supreme Court justices, at least, have the right to say what a law of Congress means or whether it shall be put into operation at all, surely we ought to have the ablest and most honest men to serve as our judges. The President sometimes appoints as judges people whom he knows. More often, probably, he takes men who are recommended to him by some Congressman.

Perhaps it would not be quite "ethical" for a president, before he appointed a person as judge, to ask him his opinion on some special matter about which a court was likely to act. Yet it is safe to say that the President has some idea

about the ways of thinking and the general opinions of people whom he appoints. Congress, too, has the right to change the number of judges in the Supreme Court as well as in the lower courts. So both the President and Congress may exert some influence over the decisions of the courts in matters of law-interpretation.

One fact that sometimes makes it difficult to get the best kind of men as judges is the relatively small salary they receive. A lawyer able enough to deserve appointment as a federal judge will probably be able to make more by practicing law than he will get in salary as a judge. But the dignity attending the position and the assurance that a judge can hold his place or his salary virtually as long as he lives, are some compensation for any money sacrifice that a man might make in accepting appointment. Very few of our federal judges have disgraced their positions, and many have brought honor to them.

253. The Power of Our Courts. — In no other country do the courts enjoy the wide range of powers that they do in the United States. Nowhere else is the judicial department considered on the same plane of authority as the executive and legislative branches. Nowhere else in any great country do the courts have the right to set aside the rules or acts made by the other departments. If the English Parliament passes a law, it *is* law. The English courts may not set it aside but will simply proceed to put it into effect whenever cases are brought before them.

These facts do not mean that our courts are necessarily carried on most efficiently. They often are not. Cases are allowed to pile up until many months and even years pass before a decision is rendered. In contrast with our slowness or carelessness, such able lawyers and judges as Chief Justice Taft have pointed out many times the quickness and reasonable certainty with which the English courts, for instance, act.

Our federal courts will not take upon themselves any responsibility which they believe belongs to another branch of the government. They will not give general opinions in advance about any

point of law or of the Constitution. It is not at all certain that this policy produces the best results, for it means this: that a law, if passed, must be broken by some one, a case brought up on the basis of this violation, and a decision obtained in a lower court, before the higher court will decide whether the law on which the case rests is constitutional. Millions of dollars in taxes might be collected and dozens of persons sent to jail while the officials were trying to enforce a tax law or some other measure which the court afterward might declare unconstitutional.

But the opinions of our Supreme Court in all matters brought before it are final, and every other branch of the government is expected to abide by its decision. No matter how much Congress or the President may wish to see a law in force, if the Supreme Court says the law is unconstitutional, no citizen need feel bound to obey it.

Yet even the Supreme Court does not wantonly exercise this great power; for it must depend upon the executive branch to carry out its decisions, and Congress may by law alter the organization of the court itself. The need for the three departments to work in harmony and with mutual respect is clear. So wisely has the Supreme Court conducted itself in most instances that the finality of its opinion is generally accepted by the country as a matter of course.

Is the Supreme Court in 1920 bound to adhere to the same principles in its decisions as the Court in 1820? Andrew Jackson, when President, is said to have remarked on one occasion, "John Marshall has made his decision. Now let him enforce it." What do you think of a remark of that kind? If the Supreme Court makes a decision which the majority of the people believe is wrong, can anything be done about it? Roosevelt once proposed that if a court declared that a law is unconstitutional, the people ought to have the right to vote on accepting or rejecting that interpretation. What do you think of the idea?

Our federal courts are organized in three grades, with some special courts in addition. Nowhere else do courts have as great political power as here, for our Supreme Court may set aside any law of Congress which it believes to be contrary to the Constitution. Yet their jurisdiction is

limited to the powers granted to the national government under the Constitution. Their record on the whole deserves the high respect and confidence of our citizens.

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Supreme Court: Its Members and Its Customs.
Some Important Supreme Court Decisions.
John Marshall.
Resolved, that judges should be elected by popular vote.

READINGS

Magruder — American Government, Chapter 14.
Haskin — American Government, Chapters 26 28.

CHAPTER XXXVI

OUR DEALINGS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES

"Let us have peace." — *Grant.*

"The world must be made safe for democracy." — *Wilson.*

254. Occasions for Contact between Nations. — You have read or heard of hermit nations — nations which did

THE GREAT WALL OF CHINA

Think how much time and labor must have been spent in the construction of this wall to keep other people out, as compared with any benefit that could be derived from the use of it.

not wish to have anything to do with the rest of the world. That sort of nation inevitably becomes backward and in-

capable of providing properly for its people's needs. If nations were ever justified in being hermits, the time is passed. We cannot keep ourselves from contact with both the nations whose territories border on our own, and those in every other part of the world.

Commerce has come to be world-wide. The flags of every nation that sends ships upon the sea may be found in every quarter of the globe. Trade makes nations know about one another and enables them to exchange their products for the mutual good of all. They depend upon one another for many things. Some things we do not make, some things we cannot grow, and some things, like minerals, are found in only a few places.

Trade usually brings people of the nations into direct contact with one another. Citizens of one nation also travel in other lands. The knowledge that is sent through the air by the radio or along the wires of the cable or through the columns of the newspaper, brings the thoughts and ideals of nations in contact even when they do not touch one another physically. Missionaries and teachers who go from one country to another may be called its unofficial ambassadors who carry with them the light and learning of the land from which they go.

Could the United States supply all the needs of its people in peace or war? If you think it could, would it be sensible to do so? What would it gain or lose by such a policy? Has any nation the right to assume that its ideas and customs are so superior to those of any other people that the others cannot contribute anything to it?

255. Differences That May Arise. — In theory there is no reason why people cannot trade with one another, learn about one another's habits and beliefs, understand their views about religion and manner of living, and still be good friends. Too often, however, contact between nations has meant quarrels. Nations will not think alike concerning matters in which they are involved.

On some matters there is, of course, general agreement. It is understood, for example, that a nation has a right to decide upon its own form of government and to manage its own internal affairs as long as it protects the life and property of the citizens of other states who have interests there. A state has jurisdiction over all the land and water within its boundaries, and over the waters for three miles from the

AT THE BOUNDARY LINE

A part of the monument marking the line between Mexico and the United States can be seen. This party went over into Mexico chiefly to say they had been there rather than to lose money on the Ti Juana races.

coast. All persons and things within the borders of a state are subject to its jurisdiction, with the exception of foreign sovereigns or their representatives.

Why was the "three mile limit" agreed upon? If the rule were being made new today, do you think that distance would be adopted?

Pirates may be dealt with by any state that gets hold of them, but other criminals are not subject to punishment by a state where their crime was not committed. Most civilized nations now have extradition treaties in force, under which a runaway criminal will be returned for trial to the

country where the crime was committed, unless it was a "political" offense, such as taking part in rebellion.

But suppose an American goes into Mexico or Brazil or Russia and sets up some sort of business. Perhaps he develops oil wells. In developing its resources, he feels that he is doing something for the country into which he has gone. He may therefore ask for special favors. The government of that country, however, may reason that it is permitting this foreigner to get rich on its own territory, and that it has the right to hedge him about with certain restrictions, or to demand fees or taxes in return for his right to use the country's wealth for his own profit. It is easy to see how quarrels might arise which would involve the government of the country in which this new business was being developed and that from whose territory the business man had come. A nation's tariff laws might also cause objection on the part of other nations whose products were kept out of a country by this means.

We do not have to go outside the history of our own continent to notice how the desire for colonies, for territorial expansion, brought nations into conflict. Two or more nations may claim the same region, often without valid reasons. Even religion may bring nations into conflict. Wars between Christians and Mohammedans, for instance, have been bitter and bloody. Once in a while, too, one nation or its ruler seems to want to domineer over a whole continent or even over the civilized world. Then if other nations have too much self-respect to submit, trouble is sure to arise.

256. Foreign Representatives. — So close and numerous are the contacts of nations with one another now that all governments regularly send persons to represent them in other countries, or in some way secure persons who will look out for their interests in other parts of the world. The foreign representatives of the United States are under the direction of the Department of State. They are classified as either diplomatic representatives or consuls.

The chief grades of diplomatic agents are as follows: (1) *Ambassadors.* These were once considered the personal representatives from the head of one government to the head of another. They are always recognized as of higher rank than other diplomats. We send them to a considerable number of countries, particularly the larger ones, who in turn send to us representatives with that title. (2) *Envoys Extraordinary and Ministers Plenipotentiary.* Once this was the highest rank we gave our foreign representatives. Their duties are about the same as those of ambassadors. We send persons with this title to the civilized nations to whom we do not send ambassadors. (3) *Chargés d'affaires* and other minor officers. They do not at ordinary times exercise much responsibility, but may sometimes be intrusted with a special mission or occasionally be left in temporary charge of an embassy.

Consuls are stationed in important cities all over the globe. Their duties are: (1) to assist, in any proper way, American citizens who may come into their neighborhood, such as protecting them from harm, making out legal papers, or communicating with the home country; (2) to act as the business agents of the United States, keeping an eye on trade conditions, the prices of commodities, openings for American business, and the like.

Positions in the consular service, as well as some in the diplomatic service, are now generally filled through civil service examination. The salaries paid by the United States in either the diplomatic or consular service are not large, in comparison with those paid by other countries. Only a man with a private income will risk the drain on his pocketbook produced by residence in the great European capitals in the station of an ambassador.

A diplomatic representative takes the place of his sovereign, and therefore is not subject to the laws of the country where he is stationed, but to those of his own nation. To a less degree the same exemption applies to members of the minister's family and to his servants.

If, however, a minister so conducts himself as to be personally objectionable — "persona non grata" — the government to which he was sent may demand that he be recalled. Washington's request for the recall of the French minister Genet, and Wilson's of the Austrian ambassador Dumba, are notable instances of the exercise of this right. If the reason is merely a personal one, the other country has

no right to take offense. Usually, in fact, a government will inquire before sending an ambassador whether a certain particular person will be acceptable.

The chauffeur of the British ambassador was once arrested by a local constable for speeding. What constitutional or international bearing would this case have?

257. Treaties and Their Making. — Often when a matter arises in which two or more nations have a common interest, they enter into a definite agreement concerning this matter. Usually such an agreement is known as a *treaty*. Often special representatives are appointed by governments to make treaties, but many times the regular ambassador or minister or the Cabinet officer who has charge of foreign affairs will handle the case directly.

Under our Constitution the President is given the right to make treaties, but must submit them to the approval of the Senate, and a two-thirds vote of that body is required for ratification. Presidents seldom take part in treaty-making themselves. In fact when President Wilson went to Paris to help draw up the treaty which was to bring the Great War to an end, some Americans thought he was violating the Constitution. He was entirely within his rights, however.

There is real question whether the provision that *two-thirds* of the Senate must ratify treaties is desirable. As some one has said: "A majority can make war, but it takes two-thirds to make peace." The makers of the Constitution believed that there should be some restraint put upon the President or his representatives in binding the country through treaty-making. But when they went so far as to allow one more than one-third of the Senate to prevent the adoption of a treaty which the President and almost two-thirds of the Senate might desire, they imposed a handicap which has sometimes been very embarrassing. Since this is the case, however, a President who wants to avoid unnecessary trouble is likely to consult with some of the leaders of the Senate before he engages in the making of a treaty of great importance. In most countries in the past it has been the custom for the monarch or cabinet to put treaties into operation without referring to the law-making

branch of the government. In these days, however, it is more and more becoming the custom to ask the law-making body to approve a treaty before it goes into effect.

258. Ways of Settling Disputes. — We sometimes speak of international law as if it were a set of rules as definite as those we find on the statute books of our state or of our national government. We hope this may be true soon. Indeed, the International Court which has been organized under the League of Nations has a wonderful opportunity to put into definite form the principles which ought to govern the relations of nations with one another. At present, however, *international law* is simply the body of rules or customs which nations commonly observe in their dealings with one another. In one important respect it differs from other laws — there is no sovereign authority to enforce it. It must depend upon the moral sentiment of the civilized world. There is no international police force on either land or sea to deal with offending nations.

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AN EMBLEM OF PEACE

This Peace Portal is half on Canadian soil and half in the State of Washington. It was put up to mark the long-standing friendly relations between the people on both sides of the line. It bears the inscription, "Children of a Common Mother."

"In the eyes of international law treaties are made to be kept." And yet unfortunately there is nothing more to back up a treaty than is behind international law itself, if a state sees fit to violate it. The shock to the moral sense of neutral

nations caused by Germany's invasion of Belgium in 1914 shows how sacred the thought of a treaty is, in general; for Belgium's safety was supposed to be guaranteed by an international treaty. Yet there was nothing that could be done about it by a neutral except to protest. No matter how wicked the act appeared, war was the only penalty that was available; for Germany did not ask the opinion of any other nation before entering Belgium.

Fortunately, treaty keeping is more common than treaty breaking, and a treaty that is honestly made in an effort to be fair to all concerned is seldom broken. A treaty which has ceased to be fair and reasonable may be annulled, if the state wishing to do so gives proper notice of its intentions.

If nations will not keep their word the only way to bring them to terms may be by war. Sometimes we read history as if it were nothing but a story of wars brought on by nations who were grossly selfish or who were determined to insist upon their interpretation of some matter in dispute even though other nations honestly disagreed.

There is no reason, however, for thinking that when nations disagree they can settle their argument only by war. Great Britain and the United States have settled many disputes peacefully by *arbitration.* This, you remember, does not mean simply negotiation between the two parties, but the calling in of one or more disinterested parties to aid in reaching a decision. Surely, even if a nation loses a case before a court of arbitration, it will not have lost as much in wealth or in honor as if it had insisted upon killing thousands or even millions of its own citizens or of its rival's, not to mention the staggering burden of debt contracted, rather than settle the matter peacefully.

Sometimes all that is needed is to take time to cool off. If, when differences seem serious, nations agree that they will take time enough to send representatives to talk matters over before taking any violent action against each other, the chances are pretty good that they will conclude to find

some peaceful settlement for their disagreements. *Direct conferences*, then, as well as arbitration tribunals and courts are possible ways of settling disputes between nations.

Are there circumstances when you would justify a nation in breaking a treaty? Give examples of cases that would best be settled by conference or negotiation rather than by arbitration, and vice versa.

259. War — Its Causes and Effects. — War should be the very last resort in settling international differences. There are two justifiable excuses for it: to defend a nation or its citizens from wanton attack by another nation; to prevent some threatened injury or wrong against civilization.

There are a considerable number of people whom we often call "pacifists," who maintain that war is never justifiable. In one sense that is true, for war settles nothing except which party is the stronger, and may not even do that. But until all nations follow the Golden Rule in dealing with others some will have to choose between war and submission to wrong. Back of all government, even good government, is force.

It is the duty of a state which makes war to indicate its intention in some way, so that its own people and others who may be affected may suit their affairs to the threatened change in conditions. Often a formal declaration is issued; sometimes the recall of an ambassador from a foreign court and the dismissal of that state's representative from the home court is done under such circumstances as to amount to a declaration of war.

When war breaks out, all states automatically become either *belligerents*, taking part in it, or *neutrals*, remaining at peace and not assisting either side. All individuals in the belligerent countries are either *combatants*, who are connected directly with the fighting force, or *noncombatants*, who do not take part in or directly support military operations. Surgeons, nurses, and chaplains, even though in an army, are treated as noncombatants.

All property is *contraband* or *noncontraband*. By contraband is meant that which is useful in carrying on military operations. Inventive genius has greatly increased the number of articles which can be of military use, with the result that commodities, such as rubber and cotton, which once would never have been thought to possess military value, would probably now be considered contraband goods.

A careful distinction must be drawn between the government of a neutral state and its citizens. Neutral private citizens have a right to continue relations and carry on trade with either party, even to the extent of selling them military

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LANDING MEN FROM A BATTLESHIP

supplies. If individual citizens leave a neutral country and enlist in the service of a belligerent, the neutral government will take no notice of it unless the movement becomes open and extensive; but persons who enlist in foreign service cannot demand protection from their own government while engaged abroad.

It has been asserted that nations have become so closely interrelated today that a war anywhere is really a matter of concern to all civilization. Do you agree with this opinion? When Turks have massacred Armenians, great sympathy has been felt and expressed for the sufferers by Americans and humane people in other

countries. Was it the right or duty of any people to help protect the Armenians? Why did not the United States undertake such protection? If we were not willing to do it, have we the right to find fault with other nations for not doing so?

260. Famous International Conferences. — High-minded thinkers now and then have imagined that there might come a time when there would be no more war. Poets like Tennyson have sung about the time when

> "War shall be no longer, and the battle flags are furled
> In the Parliament of man, the federation of the world."

But other people said this was all visionary and these men were impractical.

The nations were therefore surprised when the Czar of Russia invited the governments to send delegates to a conference to discuss the reduction of armaments. This con-

ARMISTICE DAY IN PEKING

These troops of the allied nations were assembled to celebrate the first Armistice Day. This is a scene in the so-called Forbidden City.

ference was held at the Hague, the pretty capital city of the Netherlands, in 1899. As it turned out, it did not succeed in reducing armies and navies, but it did cause the establishment of a court to which nations that wished to do so might refer disputes. A second conference was held at the Hague in 1907, but this, as if in strange irony, spent much more time discussing how war could be carried on humanely than how to prevent war.

When the Great War came to an end and a conference assembled at Paris (1919) to arrange the terms of peace, the world had perhaps the greatest chance in all human history to set up some machinery to make war impossible or at least unlikely. President Wilson strove manfully for the attainment of American ideals in the making of peace and succeeded in getting the conference to write into every treaty which came out of it, the Covenant of a League of Nations, whose object was to bind the nations by pledges and guarantees so that war might be averted (§ 262).

The terms of the Versailles Treaty, however, were in many respects a disappointment to those who had looked for a settlement based wholly on justice and wisdom and not on selfishness and revenge. For reasons that we perhaps should not try to explain here, the United States failed to ratify the treaty and this country has not yet taken any part in carrying out its provisions.

But in 1921 President Harding invited the representatives of the great naval powers of the world and those which were interested in territories bordering on the Pacific Ocean to meet in Washington and talk about the problems which were causing worry to all their statesmen. Out of this Washington conference came some pleasant-sounding treaties. There was an agreement not to build large warships beyond a certain limit; a sort of naval holiday for ten years was declared by the great naval powers. The United States, Great Britain, and Japan agreed to keep their navies on the so-called 5–5–3 ratio — that is, their strength was to be proportioned to those numbers. Japan, in particular, was interested in almost everything the conference took up and consented to a reasonable settlement of a number of matters which had been causing concern to our own country and others. But it remains to be seen whether anything of definite accomplishment was attained except the solution of the problems in which Japan was interested. The European problems which have been plaguing the world were not touched.

261. Our Foreign Policy, Old and New. — President Washington declared that we should not enter into permanent alliances with any foreign power — that is, that we should not link up our interests with those of France on one side, or England on the other, in any such way as to draw us into conflicts which were not any of our concern. Nearly thirty years later (1823) the famous Monroe Doctrine was published in President Monroe's message to Congress. Once more the principle was set forth that this country had no intention of interfering in affairs that were purely European. At the same time he stated positively that we would not consent to any interference by European governments in affairs that should concern only the New World. For instance, there should be no further colonizing of the New World by any European power.

For a good many years it was a common theme of Fourth of July orations and after-dinner speeches that this country, separated as it was from the rest of the world by two oceans, had nothing to fear from anybody and could live its own life and do as it pleased regardless of what happened to anybody else. The administration of President McKinley and the Spanish War seemed to mark openly a great change in the policy of our government. Under both McKinley and Roosevelt we gladly took part in the Hague Conferences, and in one or two other meetings in which international problems were considered. We made a considerable number of arbitration treaties by which it was hoped that the danger of war would be greatly lessened.

When the Great War broke out, our people as a whole hardly knew what to think of it. Many of us did not at first feel that it concerned us. But when Germany's war lords ignored every consideration of right and justice and humanity in their policies, our people came to the conclusion that it was our war after all.

And now what is our policy to be? President Wilson believed that it was foolish and wrong to pretend any longer

that we had no interest in great problems anywhere in the world, or that we could rightly refuse to assist in solving them. Many Americans, however, could not give up the idea that we ought to keep as far away from the problems of Europe as we possibly could. President Harding has announced that aloofness is the last thing that America would think of in its relation to the rest of the world. Yet he has

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THE ASSEMBLY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS IN SESSION

The sessions of the League Assembly at Geneva, Switzerland, are conducted in strictly business-like fashion without show or display.

thus far been unwilling to take an active part in the various conferences that have been held in Europe since the war upset everything there. Thoughtful men and women of all parties are agreed that our "splendid isolation" is ended, and that we must play a part in working out the great problems of all the world. The thing on which we have not agreed is just how we shall go about it.

262. The League of Nations. — Even before the War occurred, there existed in this country and others such organizations as the League to Enforce Peace, which aimed to bring about some sort of union of the nations to keep the

the world at peace. Men such as Presidents Roosevelt and Taft have spoken strongly in favor of the idea. President Wilson, as we have seen, insisted that the provisions for a League of Nations should form a great part of the peace treaties made after the Great War.

The aim of the makers of the League Covenant was to include in its membership all well-disposed peoples. The League now has more than 50 members. Its chief bodies are a council and an assembly. The *council* is always supposed to contain representatives of the United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan. The assembly may decide what other nations should be from time to time represented in this council. At first, four others were selected, and later six. In the *assembly* each nation belonging to the League has one vote but it may send as many as three delegates to the sessions.

The city of Geneva was selected as the seat for the League. The assembly has met here for a month or more every year, and the council meets whenever circumstances seem to call for its assembling. The council chooses a secretary-general who has a permanent office at Geneva. Under the direction of the League there has been created a permanent Court of International Justice which is always ready to receive and consider cases about which nations themselves cannot directly come to an agreement. It plans also to undertake the making of a definite code of international law to be submitted to the nations for their approval. This court will meet at the Hague.

All international disputes which cannot be settled by the nations concerned must be submitted to arbitration. Nations which are unwilling to abide by the rules and decisions of the League are to be boycotted by the other nations, and the executive council of the League may in extreme cases plan for a military and naval force to compel nations to conduct themselves properly. National armaments are to be reduced and the private manufacture of arms restricted as

far as practicable. All treaties must be registered with the secretary-general and published by him.

The League has already settled a number of very perplexing controversies in Europe and has established commissions which are looking into some of the great problems that concern all the nations, such as the private manufacture of arms, the promotion of health, the improvement of labor conditions all over the world, and the relief of suffering in Russia and elsewhere. Probably some people expected too much from it. The fact that the United States did not join the League because the peace treaty failed to get a two-thirds vote in the Senate, has greatly reduced the League's influence. But it is a " going concern " and has great possibilities of usefulness. Whether, by some modification of the terms of its Covenant, the United States may later be brought into membership is something that at present no one can tell.

Do you think that the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine by the United States is an aid or a hindrance to world peace? What problems are likely to cause the most difficulty for the League of Nations? Is there any reason why the United States should hesitate about participating in such a league?

Nations constantly come in contact with other nations. This fact may promote understanding, but sometimes causes ill will and even war. In times of peace each nation sends its representatives to the governments and people of other countries. International relations rest upon a somewhat ill-defined body of international law, which itself is the outgrowth of treaties, conferences, and long-observed customs. Most of the nations have participated in the formation of a League of Nations whose members are pledged to seek the settlement of disputes by other means than war. The United States has always tried to keep out of distinctly European controversies, and thus far has not even joined the League.

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Requirements and Duties of an Ambassador to a Great Nation.

International Law in the Great War.

The Relations of the United States to the Great War.

The Story of the Hague Peace Conferences.

Pirates.

The Peace Conference of 1919 and Its Accomplishments.

The League of Nations: What It Has Done and What It Has Not Done.

The Court of International Justice.

READINGS

Tufts — The Real Business of Living, Chapters 41, 42.

Reed — Form and Functions of American Government, Chapter 27.

Haskin — American Government, Chapters 2, 29.

DuPuy — Uncle Sam's Modern Miracles, Chapter 19.

OUR STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

CHAPTER XXXVII

GOVERNING THE STATES

"The State government touches the citizen and his interests twenty times where the National government touches him once." —Garfield.

263. How Our States Were Formed. — You remember that the colonies which took part in the Revolution all had governments definitely formed. After the Declaration of Independence was adopted, some of the states did not know just how to act with reference to their own government. The Continental Congress then advised each state to make whatever arrangements for government its special needs might call for. In the four years from 1776 to 1780 all of them, beginning with New Hampshire, made state constitutions, except Connecticut and Rhode Island.

As far as organization is concerned, then, several of our states are older than our present federal government. Not only the thirteen colonies which declared their independence from Great Britain in 1776, but Vermont as well, had state governments in operation for a number of years before 1787. Connecticut and Rhode Island, indeed, used their colonial charters for state constitutions for many years after they broke away from Great Britain.

Every colony, you remember, had a governor, though not chosen the same way in every place. Every colony had a legislature or assembly, although Pennsylvania, Georgia, and Vermont each had only one house. In transforming themselves from colonies to states, they often made little more change than to elect the governor instead of having him appointed by the king or by a proprietor and to strike out of their fundamental law any reference to the king of England.

As we have already noticed (§ 219), the making of later states was placed by the Constitution in the hands of Congress. Usually a constitution is drawn up by a special convention and approved by the vote of the people of the territory before the state is admitted, though Congress has always reserved the right to object to any provisions which it did not like.

A State Capitol

This is at Boise, Idaho. In buildings such as this, state legislatures meet, and the leading state officials have their offices.

Lincoln said once: "Our union is older than the states. In fact it created them as states." In what sense can this be true? Does this statement conflict with anything said above?

264. State Constitutions. — Some of these state constitutions, especially the later ones, are extraordinary documents. Those of Oklahoma and Louisiana have 40,000 or 50,000 words or more. How small in contrast with these was New Hampshire's constitution in 1776 with about 600 words! The early constitutions were often made by the state legislature; now a special convention is usually called to do that work and nothing else.

In the later state constitutions we find a much wider range of subjects. In fact a good many provisions are put in which really ought to be left for laws. The later constitutions, too, are usually fairly easy to amend. States do not

seem to feel as much reverence for their own constitutions as they do for the national Constitution, and some states are very ready to make changes in them.

State constitutions generally contain the following general provisions:

(1) A Bill of Rights. (2) An explanation of the frame of government of the state — its officers, its method of choosing them, and their duties. (3) Various provisions relating to the administration of the state government and the powers it may exercise. (4) Provisions for amending the document. (5) A "schedule," or statement of the conditions under which the constitution will go into effect.

In broad, general outline all states seem somewhat alike. In each of them we find the separation of departments, legislative, executive, judicial, as in the national government.

Outline the constitution of your own state, observing how much space is given to each of these parts. Explain the process by which your state constitution may be amended. If your state publishes a legislative handbook or some similar manual of information, try to keep one or more of the most recent issues always on hand.

Study thoroughly the form of government of your own state. Learn the names and duties of its principal officers. Observe carefully the points of likeness and difference between your state and the general statements made in this chapter. Always try to keep up to date with any changes in officials or form of government.

265. Law-Makers for the States. — In every state there is a legislature of two houses. Sometimes this is called the Legislature, sometimes the General Assembly, and in Massachusetts and New Hampshire the General Court. The upper house is called the Senate and is much the smaller of the two. Its members in the various states number from 16 to 67. The lower house is called the House of Representatives, or sometimes the Assembly or House of Delegates. Its membership in the different states runs from 35 to over 400.

In a few states — New York and Massachusetts, for instance — the law-making body meets every year. In most states it meets every other year, but in Alabama only once

in four years. The process of law-making and the management of the business of the two houses are very much like those of Congress. If we have become reasonably familiar with those, we probably have learned about as much as is worth while trying to tell in the way of general information.

If possible, make a map of your state showing its division into legislative districts. At least be able to describe the one in which you live.

It has often been said that the members of the average legislature are usually of a rather poor quality. Unfortunately this criticism sometimes appears to be well founded. But who is to blame? The legislators are chosen by the people, and come from the people themselves. Generally the legislature will be just what the voters who take part in the elections wish them to be. Fault-finding is no remedy at all.

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GOVERNOR EDWARDS OF NEW JERSEY IS GETTING READY TO SIGN A BILL

Draw up a bill for introduction in your legislature. Hold a session or two for the discussion of the bills which the members of the class bring in. See Section 235.

266. State Governors and Administrators. — In every state the head of the executive department is called the *governor*. He is elected for a term of two years or four years. In most states he has the veto power and many other powers corresponding to the domestic powers

which the President possesses in the national government. In fact some states give the governor a right which the President does not enjoy, of vetoing single items in bills appropriating money without having to veto the whole bill. The governor appoints a large number of executive officers, usually with the approval of the state senate.

Three-fourths of the states have a *lieutenant-governor*, who will succeed to the office of governor if a vacancy occurs there. He generally presides over the state senate. There are many other executive officials or commissions to attend to different features of the state's business. They do not, however, as a rule form a cabinet as in the federal government. Since a great many of them are elected by popular vote they are unwilling to feel any special responsibility to the governor. In most of our states, therefore, very unbusinesslike methods of carrying on public affairs have prevailed, with no official particularly responsible to anybody for anything. In some states, such as Illinois, Ohio, and New York, notable reforms have been undertaken with the idea of giving the governor more real authority and making him directly responsible for the administration of the state's affairs.

Among the administrative officials appear the following:

The *Secretary of State* has charge of the official records and papers of the governor and legislature, and has numerous other duties which vary considerably from one state to another. In Massachusetts, Virginia, and Pennsylvania this officer is known as the *Secretary of the Commonwealth.*

The *Auditor*, *Auditor-General*, or *Comptroller*, must see that no money is spent from the state treasury unless it has been authorized by law, and sometimes has other duties connected with the state's finances.

Every state has a *Treasurer*, who is responsible for the actual care and expenditure of the money paid into the state treasury.

Almost all the states have an *Attorney-General*, who is the legal adviser of the state officials. He and his assistants also represent the state in legal cases in which the state is directly concerned.

Most of the states have also an *Adjutant-General*, with important

duties in the state's National Guard; a *Superintendent of Education*, *Superintendent of Public Instruction*, or *Commissioner of Education;* and a *Commissioner of Insurance.* Many of them have a *Commissioner of Agriculture* and a number of other officers whose names suggest their duties.

What advantage, if any, results from giving the governor the power to veto certain items in appropriation bills? Do you believe in having a strong governor? Is anything gained by having a large number of state officers chosen by popular vote? Remember the "short ballot" principle. Is it observed in electing your state officers? Could you arrange the administrative branch of your state government on a more businesslike plan than that on which it is now conducted? Can you explain why people put up with inefficient management of state affairs as much as they do?

267. State Courts. — There is more difference in the judicial systems of the states than in any other feature of their government. The terms of their judges run from 2 years in Vermont, where they are elected by the legislature, to 21 years for supreme court justices in Pennsylvania, where they are chosen by popular vote. Yet in general the powers of the courts are about the same in every state.

Every state has a supreme court, though at times called by the name of the Court of Appeals or some other special title. Every state has also a system of lower courts. In many cases these are based on the counties. Sometimes several counties are combined to form a judicial district or circuit. You will have to note carefully the plan of your own state so as to be sure you understand it clearly. In several states there is a middle grade of courts between the county or district courts and the highest court. Into the district courts are brought by far the greatest part of all the cases tried in the courts of our land, whether criminal or civil.

It is more desirable that wrong should be prevented than that it should be punished when committed. Courts not lower than the county courts have the right, with that thought in view, to issue orders which are intended to prevent the commission of a crime or act of disorder. The writ of *mandamus* is an order to a public officer, a person, or a corporation to attend to some duty which ought to be done but has been neglected.

Courts may also issue injunctions. An *injunction* orders a person or body of persons not to perform some act which appears to

be dangerous or improper, or which may deprive some one else of his rights. If it appears after a time that the proposed act will not do any harm, the injunction will be set aside, but while it is in force any disregard of it may be punished.

Each state has a *statute of limitations* which requires that, except in very serious matters, prosecutions must be brought within a certain time after an act has been committed. Sometimes this works so as to enable bad men to escape deserved punishment; but the idea underlying it is to relieve a man from endless worry of prosecution for an act which did not seem serious enough to demand attention at the time it was committed, or which occurred so long ago that to bring it up after years had passed would serve no other purpose than spite or revenge.

Does the amount of money a man has make any difference in his treatment by the courts? If you were being tried, would you rather have a judge or a jury decide whether you were guilty?

268. Special Problems for the States. — You remember that we pointed out a considerable list of matters with which the state governments, rather than the national governments, deal. Some of these are perennial questions, coming up almost every time a legislature meets for consideration. Others cause a good deal of discussion when they do arise, but after they are once dealt with a change may not be made for a considerable time.

In this second group of problems are such matters as the regulation of the right to vote. In some states this is definitely fixed by the state constitution. In others it is a matter within the law-making power of the legislature. The division of a state into counties, cities, or other subdivisions, is another matter which may be fixed by the Constitution or left for the legislature, as the state may prefer to do it. Granting charters to corporations, taxing them, and enacting other regulations in regard to them is a duty of much importance in these days of business activity.

In every state the control of education is conceded to be a matter for state-wide jurisdiction. If the legislature wishes, it may turn over most of the power of administering educational systems to counties or smaller school districts,

but in every state the legislature decides the general policy on which the state educational system shall be founded.

The protection of life and property is another function of states. Here again they may turn over to local governments much of it, as in protecting health, inspecting factories and mines, detecting and catching criminals, and preventing and putting out fires. But still there is almost always a state officer or board with powers, sometimes great, to oversee the problem in general.

In late years the construction of improved highways has become a big feature of state activity. All the states, as we have noticed, have the privilege of receiving help from the national government. In a considerable number of the states the main part of the work is turned over to officers of counties or townships. But in others the State Highway Department constructs many roads itself, and in several states sums of money as great as $50,000,000 or $60,000,000 have been borrowed for road construction. State governments spend considerably less money directly in attending to public business than either the national government or local governments, but the big features of policy in dealing with many problems of much importance must be laid out by the state government.

State governments grew directly out of the colonial governments. Their form today is in many respects similar to that of the nation, but state constitutions are usually longer and more readily changed. Many differences in detail appear among state governments. Some very important matters, such as suffrage, education, protection of life and property, and highways, are either wholly or largely controlled by the state government.

SPECIAL TOPICS

Constitution Making in Our State.
Our State Constitution.
Our State Capital.
The History of Our State.

Most of the special work done in connection with this chapter had better concern itself directly with the government of the pupils' own state. An outline following the lines of our study of the national government can be worked out by the teacher and the class and the necessary facts obtained from the state constitution, legislative directories, handbooks, and the like, which practically all state governments issue. Try always to keep up to date with the names of important public officials, changes in important laws, etc., and be sure to understand that state laws, customs, and officials are not as changeless as the "laws of the Medes and Persians."

Resolved, that all state executive officials except the governor, lieutenant-governor, and auditor-general (or comptroller) should be appointed by the governor.

Resolved, that judges of state courts should be appointed by the governor and hold office on the same terms as federal judges.

Resolved, that a unicameral legislature would render better service to a state than a bicameral legislature.

READINGS

Beard — American Citizenship, Chapter 15.
Magruder — American Government, Chapters 18–21.
Reed — Form and Functions of American Government, Chapters 9–14.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

SUBDIVISIONS OF THE STATES

"To the people we come sooner or later; it is upon their wisdom and self-restraint that the stability of the most cunningly devised scheme of government will in the last resort depend."—Bryce.

269. Why Local Governments Are Needed. — Americans like to have a hand in saying something about the way they are governed. Especially is this true in connection with those matters that vitally concern their everyday lives — their roads, their fire and police protection, their schools, and the like.

Besides, no state government, not even that of little Rhode Island, could, from a central office in the state capital, attend to all the peculiar needs of each local community as well as officers who were there on the spot. Even the enforcement of state laws must largely be done by local officers. The trying of cases that come up under them, the holding of elections, the protection of the public health, the construction and repair of streets, are all matters which have to be done *in* the local communities even if we should find it possible to get along without local officers to handle them. So as a matter of fact, not only the enforcement of the state's own laws, the administration of the state's own business, but the carrying out of the wishes and the meeting of the needs of people in many important phases of life call for some sort of local government.

Every state is divided into *counties*, or as they are called in Louisiana, *parishes*. The counties themselves are usually subdivided into *towns* or *townships*, *boroughs* or *villages*, and

cities. In some states, such as those in the South where the subdivisions of the county have little to do, they are known as *precincts* or *hundreds*, and may not serve very much purpose beyond the holding of elections.

270. Types of Local Governments. — We can distinguish with reasonable clearness three general types of local government.

The type about which perhaps the most has been written is the town system of New England. Your study of history has told you many reasons why the early settlers of New England kept rather close together in towns or villages. The governments which were set up in these communities attended to almost all their local problems, and in several instances — Connecticut, for example — the government of the colony was formed by a combination of towns, instead of the colony being formed first and then towns being organized out of it.

In the South, on the other hand, the kind of farming carried on was such as to cause the people to spread widely over large areas. The plantation, not the village, was the center of business and life. Ships came up the wide mouths of the rivers to a planter's own wharf and made it unnecessary for him to have towns as places for shipping his products or unloading the goods which he bought in England. The town government was therefore unknown in the South. County governments looked after all local wants and the county was more closely tied up with the government of the state than the town was in New England.

As we might expect, the middle Atlantic colonies found their needs to be partly like and partly unlike both those of New England and the South. This fact is seen in their local government. Here was produced a mixed system with room for service on the part of both town and county governments. New York, being nearer to New England, found some use for certain features of government like those of the New England colonies. Pennsylvania tended in the other

direction and gave to her counties more importance than to the subdivisions of the counties. These subdivisions, too, were called " townships " here, and not " towns " as in New England.

These three systems, the town system, the county system, and the mixed or county-township system, are all in use today. When the New England people went West they took their ideas of government along with them; and so we find in states like Michigan or Wisconsin a form of local government with many features patterned on New England or New York. Pennsylvania's county-township system has been used as a pattern by such states west of her as Ohio, Indiana, and Kansas.

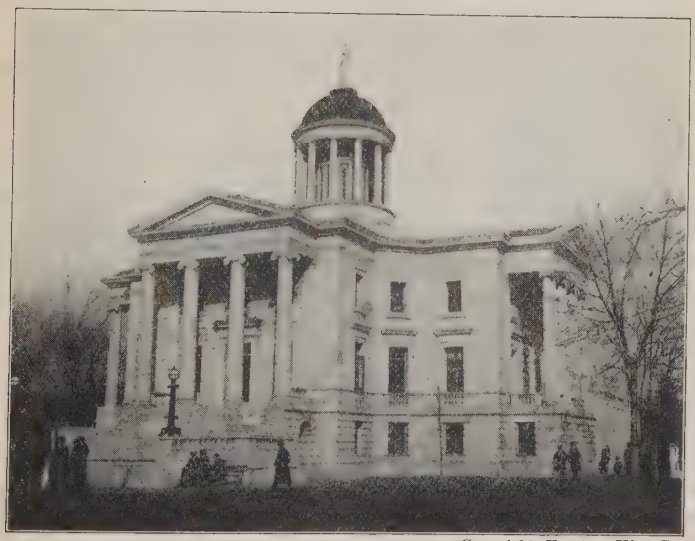
The pioneers who crossed the Alleghanies from Virginia and the Carolinas were used to the county system, and established it in the regions which they settled. The states which use the county system have smaller counties and more of them. Sometimes a state like Illinois, which was settled by people from both the northern and southern Atlantic states, has allowed a county to choose for itself whether or not it would be subdivided into townships.

271. Counties and Their Officers. — In a large majority of the states the county is the most important agent of local government. Counties are often irregular in shape and may differ considerably in the same state in area and population. Usually the state legislature has power to make new counties, but the constitutions of some states require that a new county must have a certain area and contain a certain number of people. Sometimes a popular vote is taken in a county when it has been proposed to divide it. Then the division will not be made if a majority of the voters oppose it.

Almost everywhere the administration of justice is based largely on the county. There is a courthouse in each county, which serves as a place to hold courts and to furnish headquarters for the county officers, and almost every county has a jail in which to keep criminals. Counties have the

right to acquire property for these purposes and to put up such buildings as may seem desirable.

As the county courthouse is the "seat of justice" for the county, the place where it is located has come to be called the *county seat*. Usually a central location in the county is chosen for the courthouse. On that account we sometimes



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A New Jersey Court House

find today that the county seat is no longer the most important place in the county, because railroads or other industrial changes have given greater prominence to some less central place.

Just as in the organization of state governments, so in the officers of counties, we shall find numerous differences, if we pass from one state to another. In many states the most important county officials are called *county commissioners*. They have general oversight of the county business, fix the rate for the county tax, and in many cases are responsible for keeping up the highways. In New York, Michigan, and some other states, a *board of supervisors* composed of one member from each township in the county performs

these duties. The *sheriff* is to keep order in the county. The *treasurer* handles the county money. The *auditors* inspect the accounts of other county officers.

One or more officers, such as a *clerk of courts*, keep the records of court proceedings. Another officer or two record the deeds, wills, or other legal papers that concern the ownership of property. The *district attorney*, or *state's attorney*, prosecutes persons accused of crime. Most counties have a *superintendent of schools*, and in many states there are *directors of the poor* in each county.

We shall leave any detailed account of the duties of these and other county officers for you to learn as you study your own state.

The administration of county affairs is often very poor. The blame for inefficiency, waste, and mismanagement rests in part on the fact that the people elect such a large number of county officers that they cannot hope to know them well enough to pick the right sort of men for all of them. The adoption of the short ballot idea has been often recommended as a decided improvement.

In some states, too, there has been a feeling that it is a mistake to require every county to have exactly the same form of government as every other county. In California, for instance, a county gets a charter from the state government just as a city would have to do and is allowed a good deal of freedom in deciding just what officers it shall have and how its business shall be carried on. This principle is often referred to as *home rule* for counties. People in general know very little about how the business of their own county government is actually done. Surely some way should be found not only to keep people informed, but to bring out of the disordered management, that we so often see in county government, something like real business efficiency.

What sort of county government prevails in your own state? How many of your county officers are chosen by popular vote? What arguments are used to support the candidacies of men who are running for county office? Ask your father or any other voter

in your family. What is the county seat of your county? Why was it selected? Is it the most important place in the county, or the most convenient to reach? How are new counties formed in your state? When was your own county formed? When was the most recent organization of a new county? Are the counties in

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WAITING FOR COURT TO OPEN

This is the courthouse in Charlestown, West Virginia. A trial of miners who had been connected with labor difficulties was under way.

your state large or small? Is there any reason for the condition that exists? (In general, consider them large if they average over 750 square miles in area.)

272. Laying Out Towns and Townships. — In the early New England colonies towns and townships were not laid out — they grew up. Fixing boundaries was often a matter of settlement after the people had come rather than of having them marked out on paper before settlers arrived. Today in some of the eastern states, a new town may be formed by an act of the state legislature. In others the state legislature passes a general law and then when the people of a

neighborhood wish to form a new township they simply carry out the provisions of this law. They may be required, for instance, to draw up a petition signed by a certain number of voters or property owners and have it approved by a county court.

In the states of the middle West and the far West, the organization of townships sometimes came about in a different way. In many cases these townships were based on the survey of the public land. A fairly definite plan for making such surveys was worked out by Congress at a very early date. Townships were made six miles square, each one containing 36 sections.

Certain meridians were taken and called "principal meridians," and the eastern and western boundary lines of townships ran along such meridians or at a regular distance from them. In the same way "base lines" were taken along parallels of latitude, and the northern and southern boundaries of townships made at a fixed distance from them. Since the circumference of the earth grows less as we go toward the pole, the meridian lines come closer together. Therefore to keep the townships all about the same size new base lines were established at regular distances and the survey started anew when one of these base lines was reached. In some of the states which were surveyed in this way, the main highways fall along the boundary lines of the townships or of the sections.

As settlers moved to this land, it was often easy to employ the arrangement already worked out as the basis for local government. This is why the maps of our middle western states show township boundary lines so very regular, in sharp contrast with the crooks and angles of the township lines of the New England states.

How did the towns or townships in your state originate? Are they regular or irregular, equal or unequal, in shape and size?

273. Governing New England Towns. — Be sure you understand what the word " town " means in New England. It is not simply a village or group of houses. It is a political organization. In some other states we would use the word " township " to mean about the same thing. A New Eng-

land "town" may contain three or four separate and distinct villages within its limits.

The great distinguishing feature of the New England system of government is the *town meeting*. This is regularly held in the spring, though special meetings may be held at other times. All the voters have the right to attend the

THE TOWN HALL AT DOVER, MASSACHUSETTS

This is a typical New England town hall.

town meeting, elect town officers, and take part in discussions of town affairs. The town meetings act on almost every conceivable thing, from fixing the tax rate or putting up a new school building to selling a worn-out road scraper or appropriating money for band concerts.

Nothing exactly like this exists in any other part of the world, and no better training in democracy was ever afforded anywhere. Large communities cannot easily permit this freedom, but its simplicity and relative inexpensiveness make the people hesitate about giving it up. Brookline,

a suburb of Boston, one of the richest communities in the world in proportion to population, has nearly 40,000 people, but is still a "town."

When the population becomes large the town meeting ceases to be a popular government. The great mass of voters could not possibly get into any hall in the town. Only a few hundred ever try to do so, and very often a party caucus or some other gathering is held in advance and the officers are really picked out on that occasion rather than at the regular town meeting. New York State, indeed, has pretty nearly given up the town meeting.

In the New England states, however, the rural towns are very insistent on their "rights," and, in such states as Vermont and Connecticut, insist upon their privilege of sending representatives to state legislatures regardless of their size. If a man lives long enough in some towns he is sure of getting a term in the legislature, and one citizen may have to hold several offices at once in order to have them filled by somebody.

Town officers are very numerous, but are never paid high salaries. The most important are the *selectmen*. There are usually three of them. During the interval between town meetings they represent the town and act in its name whenever it may be necessary. The *assessors* or *listers* put a valuation on all the taxable property in the town. The *constables* are the police officers. The *justices of the peace* perform various legal ceremonies and hold court in small cases. The *auditors*, *road commissioners*, *school directors*, and all the rest, down to the *fence viewers* and *pound keepers*, have duties of greater or less importance.

Short terms for officers prevail throughout New England, and one year is the extent of term for which most of the officials are elected. Where there are three of a kind, such as selectmen, listers, or school directors, one may be chosen each year for a three-year term.

274. Township Government Elsewhere. — The fundamental difference between the New England system and that elsewhere is the absence of the town meeting in the latter. The voters of a township elect its officers but have

no direct part in the conduct of township business. In this system of government no particular attempt is made to distinguish between legislative and executive powers. Several of the township officers may be called on to exercise both. A longer term than in New England for township officers is the rule in states which have the mixed system.

The New York township has a *supervisor* whose duties are similar to those of the New England selectmen. Pennsylvania has *supervisors* whose chief interest is the care of the roads. In some states the township elects one or three *trustees*. Almost everywhere we find a *treasurer*, an *assessor*, *auditors*, *justices of the peace*, *constables*, *overseers of the poor*, a *collector of taxes*, and *school directors*.

What form of town or township government do you like best? Do you think the New England system would work well in other states?

The absence of the town meeting as a political assembly does not mean that a township offers no opportunity for the people to act together in matters of local importance. Indeed, community organizations formed by the voluntary action of citizens are able to accomplish a great deal in bringing about a high type of community life. Community councils, village improvement societies, social clubs, coöperative organizations of various kinds, all may be active in promoting the welfare of the people. If the township or other local government enjoys the privilege of the initiative and referendum it can have almost as much opportunity for deciding directly the solution of its own problems as if it had the formal town meetings. Sometimes, especially in rural communities, some department in the state government, possibly in connection with the state university or agricultural college, takes a lively interest in promoting the coöperation of the people in entire townships.

275. Boroughs and Villages. — It often happens that within a township a community of some size will grow up. The people of this community may want better schools, paved streets, improved street lighting, or fire protection,

which would be expensive if extended throughout the township. At the same time they may not have enough people to form a city government or care to assume the expense that often goes with it.

Some of the states have made special provision for this class of communities by organizing *boroughs* or *incorporated villages*. The method of formation varies with each state, but the approval of the majority of voters or property-owners is commonly required. In Pennsylvania and Minnesota a borough becomes wholly independent of the township of which it may have formed a part.

In some of the other states the borough or village may be organized to meet only certain special needs, such as street lighting, or fire protection, and for other purposes may continue as before to be simply a part of the township. This is the plan in such states as Connecticut and Vermont.

The borough or village elects a small body known as the *council* or *board of trustees*, who become the lawmakers for their government. The Pennsylvania borough has also a chief executive known as the *chief burgess*. The other officers are about the same as in the township. The formation of this kind of government is often a step toward city government, but some communities wait a long time before they reach that condition. In some boroughs and villages a "manager" is employed to take general charge of administering public affairs, like the "manager" in one of the newer forms of city government (§ 278).

There are three clearly distinguishable types of local government, the township, the county, and the mixed, or county-township type. Further than this, it is hard to make general statements about local governments. Most of the matters that affect directly the everyday life of the people are done by or through it, nevertheless, a sort of local government called the borough or village is sometimes formed for communities that wish some of the supposed benefits of city government but do not care to assume heavy expense bills. Many people think that county government would be improved if fewer officers were elected by the voters.

SPECIAL TOPICS

Most of the special work done in connection with this chapter should consist of a definite and thorough study of the pupil's own county and of the subdivision of it in which he lives. Let him make a good map of the county, showing its subdivisions. He should be familiar with its natural, industrial, and other special features. The particular type of county government which prevails in his state, the offices of his county government, and the persons who hold the important positions, should all be studied. Some one might sketch the history of the county.

In the study of Social Institutions and Social Life many local activities will have been taken up with all necessary thoroughness, and nothing further will remain except a connected outline of the machinery of local government and some comparison with other forms. The New England town meeting will repay some study, no matter what system may be locally in vogue. If you have the town meeting, by all means let the class conduct a session or two themselves and visit one if possible.

Resolved, that the New England town meeting system should be introduced in communities of less than 5000 people.

Boards of Trade and Village Improvement Societies.

READINGS

Beard — American Citizenship, Chapters 11, 17.

Magruder — American Government, pp. 301-329.

Reed — Form and Functions of American Government, Chapters 17, 18.

CHAPTER XXXIX

GOVERNING OUR CITIES

"'You are my brother,' says Tolstoi, to the poor and degraded, 'and therefore I will live with you and be dirty.' 'You are my brother,' says Dr. Hale, 'therefore live with me and be clean.'"—Vedder.

276. How Cities Are Formed. — Possibly the word city does not suggest just the same image to all of you. To some it may mean the center of business in a large district mainly devoted to farming — the place where the courthouse is situated, where there are a few big stores, where people go when they have saved up a reasonable sum through years of work to spend the rest of their lives in relative comfort. To others it may mean the real metropolis with row after row of closely built streets traversed by clanging street-cars and lined with solid rows of automobiles — the place where life is always in a hurry; where green grass and bright flowers are conspicuous by their absence, except in an occasional little "park" or florist's window.

In the political sense, too, cities differ very greatly. Whether a place shall be called a city in this sense does not depend very largely, in some states, upon the amount of its population. Any place may be called a *city* which is governed under a charter which bestows upon it certain definite, but extensive, powers for the government of its own local affairs.

Many states arrange their cities in classes in accordance with population, so that they can readily provide one form of government for one class and some other for a different class. In some states a place must have 10,000 people be-

fore it can become a city. In others the population of cities of the lower classes may be so small that they are really nothing more than villages.

The charter of the city corresponds somewhat to the constitution in the government of the nation or the state. From another viewpoint it is like a corporation, and is legally known as a municipal corporation. In some states the legislature passes a special law for the purpose every time a city is chartered. In others there are general laws which all cities of a certain class abide by when they adopt city government.

In most states the city is a part of the county to which it belongs, yet the authority which creates the city and really controls it is that of the state legislature, representing the entire state. Unless the state constitution limits the legislature's power it may provide for a city whatever form of government it wishes to provide.

There is honest difference of opinion among friends of good government as to the best way to secure it in cities. Some believe that a large city needs to be subject to the control of the state in general, because the interests of all the people of the state may be so bound up in those of its largest city that it may not be safe to let the city do entirely as it pleases. Others urge "home rule." They believe that each city should have the right to decide upon the kind of government it wishes and work out a charter to suit its needs. In some states the legislature authorizes several types of city government and then permits each city to select the one of those types which it prefers.

What is the law of your own state concerning the formation of cities? Is city home rule permitted? When did your city get its charter? What are the principal provisions of it?

277. The Most Common Forms of City Government. — When cities began to be fairly numerous, it came to be a sort of custom to plan for them a form of government which was in many respects like that of the state. Perhaps this is one

File of Council, City of Pittsburgh

SERIES 1919

File No. 1076 **Bill No. 1915**

Presented by Mr. Herron December 23, 1918

In Committee on Finance, January 13, 1919.

Affirmatively Recommended as Amended.

AN ORDINANCE—Fixing the number of officers and employees of all departments of the City of Pittsburgh, and the rate of compensation thereof.

SECTION 1. *Be it ordained and enacted by the City of Pittsburgh, in Council assembled, and it is hereby ordained and enacted by the authority of the same,* That from and after the passage and approval of this ordinance, the number of officers and employees of all departments of the City of Pittsburgh and the rate of compensation thereof shall be and the same are fixed and established as herein set forth, an allowance for the high cost of living having been included in the rates of compensation, as shown in the column headed "Allowance":

Allowance for high cost of living included in salary rate.

COUNCIL

SECTION 2.

Nine Councilmen.....$ 6,500.00 each per annum

CITY CLERK'S OFFICE

SECTION 3.

City Clerk.....$ 3,600.00 per annum

Assistant City Clerk..... 3,600.00 per annum

Recording Clerk..... 2,670.00 per annum $120.00

THE FIRST PAGE OF A CITY ORDINANCE

reason why city governments on the whole worked so poorly. The plan of government that may be needed for a large area, where the people cannot possibly all come together or have direct association with the administration of affairs, may not work well at all in a thickly settled neighborhood of limited extent. Almost every city has had at some time or other, if it does not have now, one chief executive, whose place is somewhat like that of the governor of a state, and a bicameral law-making body.

The chief executive in the city is most frequently called the *mayor*. Besides his general duty of seeing that city ordinances are enforced, he usually has the right to appoint many city officials and to sign or veto all ordinances passed by the law-making branch. His salary varies from almost nothing in the smaller cities to $15,000 in New York. The mayor of New York City gets a bigger salary than the governor of New York State.

The name applied to the law-making branch depends on how it is made up. When it is bicameral, the two bodies may be called the *select council* and the *common council*, though sometimes the smaller branch may be called the *board of aldermen* and the other simply the *council*. If there is only one house in the law-making body, it is probably known as the *council*. The term of office of the mayor and council varies widely. In some places a mayor is elected every year.

Very many administrative officials are needed in a large city, and these are commonly grouped into a few great departments. Every city must have, under some name or other, a department of *public works*, to look after highways, sewers, water supply, and the like; a department of *public safety*, controlling policemen, firemen, building inspectors, and similar officers; a department of *health;* and perhaps a department of *charities* and other departments to meet the peculiar needs of the city. A *treasurer*, a *controller*, a city *solicitor* or *attorney*, and others may also be found. Every city has its *school board* or *board of education*, which in many states is allowed to manage its affairs independently of the other administrative departments.

In many states the judicial branch of the city government is relatively less important than the others, for most crimes and lawsuits will be taken up directly by the county courts or lowest grade of the state court system. But there are always police judges or magistrates who have authority over small cases, especially viola-

tions of city ordinances, and who give hearings to persons accused of graver crimes, just as a justice of the peace does in the township.

If you live in a city, outline in detail its frame of government. How many of its officials are you personally acquainted with or do you know by sight? Why is the position of police magistrate sometimes filled by unfit men? Find out if your father knew all the men for whom he voted in the last local election. What were the leading issues in that election?

278. Plans for Reform in City Government. — The checks and balances that we find in the national government and in state governments are usually found working in their most unsatisfactory fashion in cities. The power of government may be so divided between the mayor on one side and the council or councils on the other that nobody can be sure who was responsible for anything.

In recent years we have seen some tendency toward centralizing more power in the mayor, and a very common movement toward the substitution of a one-house council for the old bicameral plan. Moreover it is now the usual custom to make this council comparatively small in number. The idea then is that all the people of the city will be able to keep some watch over the members of the council and see that they do what the people wish them to do rather than what somebody pays them on the quiet for doing. Under any form of the mayor and council plan, however, the appointments made by the mayor have to be confirmed by the council, and a two-thirds vote may pass ordinances over his veto.

Many reformers are disgusted, however, with any attempt, to pattern city governments after those of the state or the nation. Believing that the main thing we should seek is efficiency and honesty in administration, they have urged more and more the adoption of plans of government like those which a big business concern employs. They throw away all the old theories of checks and balances except those which the people themselves may impose upon their officials through the initiative and referendum and perhaps the recall, and substitute a *commission* or *city manager* form of government.

In 1900, after the city of Galveston suffered terribly from a tidal wave, the government of the place was completely reorganized after a fashion which has been imitated by several hundred other places. The system which they adopted is the *commission* form of government. A small body of persons, more often five than any other number, is elected by the voters to have general charge of the city's business. This commission passes the ordinances needed for city government. Each member of the commission is the head of an executive department. One of the number is sometimes called the mayor, but his power is little greater, if any, than that of the other commissioners. Under this plan at least there should be no conflict of authority between the branches of the government, except that which might result from differences of opinion among any group of five men who think for themselves.

Another plan which centralizes city government still more closely has made tremendous progress in the last few years. This is the *city manager* plan, which is very much like the system in vogue in many well-governed European cities. Under this plan, the voters elect a small number of commissioners, perhaps only three, who have the power to pass ordinances as in the commission form of government, but who do not assume responsibility for administering the city's affairs themselves. They elect one person as city manager and tell him to appoint the heads of the administrative departments of the city and handle the business so as to get the best results — the most for the people's money, in other words.

The first large city to adopt the city manager plan was Dayton, Ohio. In that place and in others it has worked excellently. Now even so large a city as Cleveland is going to try it. Sometimes friction has developed between the commissioners and the manager whom they elected. But in the great majority of cases the city manager plan has meant great saving in government and has brought satisfaction to the people who have tried it.

If you live in a city, does it have the commission or city manager form of government? If not, has the adoption of either of those plans ever been proposed? Would it be an improvement over your present form of government?

If you do have the commission or city manager form, ask some intelligent citizen how the city compares for good government today with the conditions that prevailed before your present form was adopted.

279. Why City Government Is Difficult. — The wonderful growth of cities has often taken place so suddenly and

quietly that men have been surprised and shocked when some great problem seemed to burst upon them all at once. Packing together in small compass thousands of people and millions of dollars of wealth would alone give rise to many

Boston Photo News Co.

A City Hall in Unusual Surroundings

We are looking across Lakeside Park toward the city hall of Oakland, Calif.

difficulties. Add to this the coming of millions of foreigners, ignorant of American life and ideals, most of whom herd in the cities, and the situation is tenfold worse. Native Americans themselves who live in cities do not know their own neighbors and often seem to have very little civic pride so long as nothing happens to inconvenience them personally.

"The government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States." So runs a familiar quotation from the Hon. James Bryce. National political issues have attracted the attention of the voters much more than local questions, except when the taxes rose beyond endurance. We have borrowed money by the millions and spent it on public works constructed by contractors who "stood in" with the politicians who ran the city, and we have learned after it was all spent that we should have to pay interest on it for two or three generations.

Only as the best citizens are willing to sacrifice a little time and energy to help keep city government in the hands of honest and competent officials, can we hope to find relief from these ills. Happily the situation seems brighter than ever now, and there is reason to hope that the worst of our cities' shame is past.

Do the so-called good citizens of your community take an active part in political affairs? If not, what excuses do they offer? Do people talk most about the good features or bad features of government in your city?

280. What Cities Attempt to Do for Their People. — Sometimes it seems as if there were no more helpless mass of humanity than that of the city. If a snow storm comes in the country, men and boys and perhaps women and girls shovel paths as if it were the natural thing to do. In the city a six-inch snowfall may tie up everything for a considerable time. In the rural districts nobody thinks of spending money for parks and playgrounds. In the city thousands of dollars a year go to maintain such places.

Perhaps it cannot be otherwise. Perhaps we cannot expect city people to do so many things for themselves as in the country. Certainly city governments are expected by their citizens to be responsible for many activities of a wide and varied nature. Every large city has to construct and pave highways and keep them in repair. It tries to provide amusement for its people, at least in the summer time. It

has an extensive force always on the job looking after the people's health, especially to prevent epidemics.

Buildings are so close together that a fire in one menaces its neighbor, and so on down the block. Fire departments must be large and efficient to save a city from destruction. Pickpockets, burglars, and other crooks find the city a special field for their operation. There are so many more people there and so much more wealth that a dishonest person finds many more opportunities to help himself to somebody else's property and to get away without being recognized. That is why cities must have extensive police forces.

Public school systems in cities also cost thousands or millions of dollars. With so many different kinds of people and so many different kinds of occupations represented in the city, the school system tries to prepare the children for any line of business which may attract them and which they may want to go into when they grow up.

All these things and many more, cities undertake to do. They have a tremendous task on their hands. The most enlightened and patriotic sort of person is needed to handle properly the problems of a great city or even of a small one. The more a city tries to do, the more varied sort of talent does it need in order to do well the various things that it attempts. In the government of a large city there is room for all kinds of public service. It can be and should be made the life work of intelligent patriots.

A " city " does not mean just the same thing in every state, but it always should signify a fairly closely settled community governed under a charter from the state. Cities are usually grouped in classes. At first their government was patterned after those of the states, but different forms have often been found better suited to cities. Many perplexing problems attend the government of cities. To relieve the situation it has been proposed to centralize the control of affairs in a few hands, and hire expert men to handle the city's business.

SPECIAL TOPICS

If you live in a city, study carefully and fully its government and activities. If you do not live in a city, study the nearest large city.

The Government of New York City.

The History of Our City.

Resolved, that the city manager plan of government is the best yet suggested.

A Visit to the City Council.

A Magistrate's Court.

What It Means to Be a Mayor.

What It Means to Be a City Manager.

Resolved, that home rule for cities is desirable.

READINGS

Lessons in Community and National Life, B–19.

BEARD — American Citizenship, Chapters 10, 16.

MAGRUDER — American Government, pp. 330 351.

REED — Form and Functions of American Government, Chapters 15, 16.

BEARD — American City Government, Chapter 4.

CHAPTER XL

TERRITORIES AND POSSESSIONS

"Possession means to sit astride the world
Instead of having it astride of you."

—Kingsley.

281. Special Types of Government. — In some communities the inhabitants may not be in a position to care properly for their own needs. Their needs might be best served by some special form of government which hardly any other place might want at the time. If it is expected that the population will grow, even though now it is strewn over a vast, thinly settled region, the government should be so planned that its people will be ready, when they are numerous enough, to take over the entire responsibility for handling their own affairs. If the people are numerous, but have little experience in self-government, then they need to be trained under careful guardianship so that they, too, may learn how to look out for themselves. In this country we have no favor for any form of government that aims to keep any people permanently subject to outside authority. But at almost every period in our history some regions and people have been in need of receiving from us some special type of government.

282. Territories and Their Government. — During most of our national existence there has been a considerable amount of land that was either thinly settled or wholly unoccupied except by savages. About the close of the Revolution several of the states turned over to the national government much wild land which they had claimed. To govern

some of this land the Congress of the old Confederation passed the famous Northwest Territory Act of 1787.

So well thought out was this law that its general features have been regularly observed from that day to this in dealing with regions not ready to be made into states. To settle any doubt about the right to govern such territory, the Con-

International

AN HAWAIIAN SCENE

The beach at Waikiki, Honolulu, is famed for its attractiveness. The climate of Hawaii is remarkably even.

stitution specifically declares that "Congress shall have power to make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States."

The form of government known as a *territory* was devised to prepare for full self-government a region which was expected to become in time a state. A governor, other executive officers, and judges are appointed by the President for a term, usually, of four years. A territorial legislature

of two houses is elected by the voters of the territory, but its laws are subject to the veto of the governor and to the disapproval of Congress as well. The voters of the territory elect a delegate, who has a seat in the national House of Representatives and may take part in debates, but has no vote.

Only six states of the Union besides the original thirteen did not go through this territorial stage, — Vermont, Kentucky, Maine, Texas, California, and West Virginia. At present Hawaii and Alaska are territories, and under the law of 1917 the government of Porto Rico is very nearly the same. None of these seems likely to become a state very soon.

283. The District of Columbia. — The city of Washington is in a peculiar sense the property of the entire nation. We may be excused, therefore, for having the place where our national government is centered cared for directly by representatives of that government itself. People who do not wish to give up any of their privileges as voters need not come there to live.

The Constitution gives Congress full power to control the seat of government and any other government property, such as forts, arsenals, dockyards, and other public buildings. As at present governed, the District of Columbia is treated simply like so much property. Its affairs are managed by a board of three commissioners appointed by the President. Congress itself acts as the law-making body. The cost of government is paid in part from the national treasury and in part from taxes on private property in the District.

The permanent residents of the District do not vote for any officers whatever and have no part in their own government. Nevertheless the city of Washington, with the Capitol, the Library of Congress, the White House, the many other public buildings, the beautiful streets and parks, is a most attractive city and its people appear to be contented with their government.

Is the government of the District an example of "taxation without representation" or "government by consent of the governed"? Is it justifiable?

284. Our Colonies and Possessions. — Other lands owned and governed by the United States are called *colonies*, *de-*

pendencies, or *possessions*. Their relation to our national government does not differ much from the relations of the well-managed British colonies to their mother country, or the royal colony in America before the Revolution. The chief difference between these possessions and the territories is that the possessions are given whatever form of government seems best suited to them, without thought of whether they will ever become states or not.

The islands of Guam and Tutuila and the new Virgin Islands in the West Indies are directly under the authority of officers of the navy. The Panama Canal Zone is managed by a civil governor with several subordinate departments.

The Philippines have furnished the most serious problems in our government of colonies, because of their situation and the various races and stages of development that have existed there. Our policy has been to give them steadily more and more of responsibility for their own administration as fast as they became fitted to exercise it. They have now a governor-general, and a vice-governor, appointed by the President, who must be Americans, three other executive officers appointed by the President, who may be Filipinos, and a legislature composed of a senate and a house of representatives elected by the men of voting age who can read and write some language or dialect. The Philippines elect two commissioners, who attend our national House of Representatives.

Whether the Philippines shall be permanently retained under the ownership of the United States or given their independence has been one of the notable disputed questions of public policy since the islands were acquired. Unfortunately party politics have entered into the question too much to let it be settled wholly on its merits. The latest law for Philippine government declares it to be the intention of the United States to give the islands their independence when they are ready for it. But who shall say when?

Discuss the desirability and justice of Philippine independence.

The decisions of the Supreme Court sustain Congress in the right to pass any laws it wishes concerning the District of Columbia, the territories, and the possessions, without regard to the acts of any territorial legislatures. In the possessions, there may even be different tariff laws from those applying elsewhere, and the people may receive all, a part, or

none at all of the rights of citizens of the United States, as Congress may decide.

285. Protectorates. — When a government, without claiming to own a district or country, exercises a general supervision over the management of that country's affairs, we say that a *protectorate* exists. When the United States turned over

A Native Shack in the Philippines

The tropical climate does not require very carefully constructed houses. Notice that the building is raised to prevent its destruction by floods during the rainy season.

Cuba to its own people, we specified that we should have the right to intervene to put down disorder and to see that its government's finances are satisfactorily managed. Its foreign relations, too, must be such as we approve. The little Republics of Haiti and Santo Domingo have also been virtually taken over by our government in recent years, and their finances, and sometimes more, put directly under the charge of American officials. We also have understandings or treaties with Panama and Nicaragua which authorize us to intervene if occasion seems to require it.

The chief reason for our taking up any responsibility for them lies in their incapacity to manage their own finances.

Many Europeans have money interests in these places. Since this country through its Monroe Doctrine has commanded Europe to refrain from interfering in the New World, the European governments rightly expect that we

A Philippine Product

These are newly harvested sheaves of rice on the Island of Luzon.

will assure fair and honest treatment of their rights in this hemisphere. Partly to remove any excuse for European intervention on account of these little countries' not paying their just debts, and partly to protect our own interests in the same little countries, we found it necessary steadily to bring them more closely under our supervision.

Is it right for us to command these weak powers of the New World to let us take hold of their affairs and tell the officials of those gov-

ernments how they must act? Why in recent years has there been much uncertainty as to how we ought to act toward Mexico? Is there any special reason why we should assume a protectorate over the republic of Panama?

By the Covenant of the League of Nations, a system of *mandates* was established, by which the former German colonies were put under the protection and guidance of certain of the allied powers. Each year the power which holds a mandate for a certain territory must make a report to the League with reference to its policy there and the conditions prevailing in the territory thus protected. Unfriendly critics of the League have asserted that ultimately these "mandated" territories would become simply colonies of the countries which held the mandates. However, the holding of a mandate may be more of an expense than a benefit to a country. If the stronger power honestly wishes to improve the conditions of the weaker people who have come under its care, it has a tremendous opportunity to render service to humanity.

Some regions need special forms of governments particularly adapted to their needs. Hence we have the territorial form of government, which in the past has been a preparation for statehood, and other types like that of the District of Columbia and a true colonial government for the Philippines. Sometimes a nation assumes responsibility for another's interests without acquiring ownership, as we have done with Cuba.

SPECIAL TOPICS

Hawaii, an Island Paradise.
Alaska: Its Needs and Possibilities.
What the Philippines Owe to the United States.
Resolved, that the United States should retain the Philippine Islands permanently.
Our West Indian Possessions.
The Story of the Panama Canal.
When Our State Was a Territory [if it was].
What We Did for Cuba.

READINGS

MAGRUDER — American Government, Chapter 16.
REED — Form and Functions of American Government, Chapter 26.
HASKIN — American Government, Chapter 19.
MARRIOTT — Uncle Sam's Business, Chapter 6.
DU PUY — Uncle Sam's Modern Miracles, Chapters 2, 8.

CHAPTER XLI

CONTRIBUTING TO OUR GOVERNMENT

"The subjects of every state ought to contribute to the support of the government as early as possible in proportion to their several abilities."—Smith.

286. Why Our Governments Need Money. — If government is really a big business proposition, as it ought to be, we have no more right to expect it to be carried on without the use of money than any other business enterprise. Public service may often be a duty, but it is not fair to ask people to give their entire time to public service without compensating them for it. The materials used in constructing public buildings, highways, and other improvements must be paid for. Good citizens, too, would rather meet the cost of punishing people who insist upon breaking the laws than not have law-breakers punished.

We often group the services of our governments which justify the collection of taxes under three heads: protective, industrial, and social. Their *protective* functions include the defense of the nation against foreign enemies, the suppression of disorder, and the safeguarding of life and property within our borders. Their *industrial* functions include those measures which are intended to encourage industry and provide proper conditions for its operation, such as the construction of roads, canals, bridges, the improvement of rivers and harbors, and the supervision of the relations of people to one another in industry. Their *social* functions

concern the relief of the needy and improvement of our common life in general. Under this head we may mention the care of the poor, the insane, the criminal, the prevention of poverty and disease, and the education of all the people. When we consider how many and how extensive are the services which our government performs we must admit that a citizen is ignorant, selfish, or unpatriotic, or all three, when

THE BATTLESHIP "CALIFORNIA" IN SAN DIEGO HARBOR

he objects to paying his fair share of the costs of these various services. There is no source of revenue which public officials can touch with a magic wand and cause to pour out money. If our government is to do anything for us we must provide the wherewithal.

Make a list of 10 respects in which you feel that you receive benefits from the work of national, state, or local government. Classify each with reference to the three functions just mentioned.

287. How Our Governments Meet Their Financial Needs. — The general sources from which our governments obtain revenue to carry on their activities can be grouped under five heads:

(1) *Sale and Gift.* There was a time in our history when the sale of public lands was a valuable source of revenue.

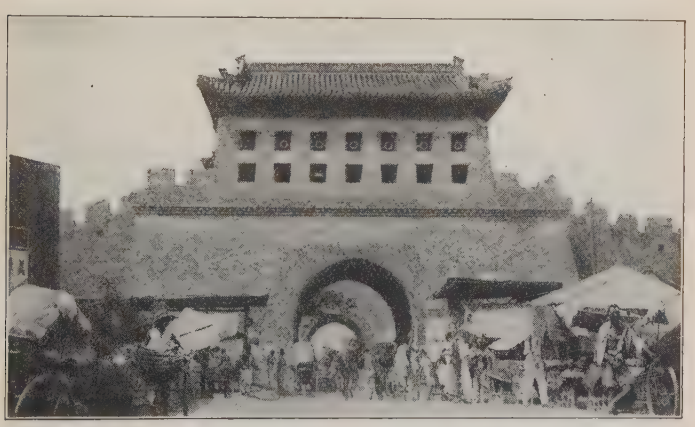
It still continues to some extent, though it is no longer likely to be very extensive or dependable. Sometimes public industries such as the post office or water system may produce a little revenue. But they are usually conducted with the idea of just meeting their expenses. Sometimes public-spirited citizens will give their private wealth for a public purpose. But this is usually in the form of some public building or park or some other permanent improvement. Revenue from this source, therefore, is not likely to be very great or particularly helpful in meeting ordinary running expenses.

(2) *Eminent Domain.* Any governmental organization possesses the right of eminent domain. This principle permits a government to take private property when it is needed for public use. The government does not help itself without compensation, for it is always understood that the private owner whose property is thus taken shall be paid whatever an impartial jury or board of viewers may consider the property worth. This right of condemning private property therefore does not mean any financial gain to our government, but it does enable it to obtain property which it would otherwise not be able to obtain at all or for which the private owner might try to hold it up for an exorbitant price.

(3) *Loans.* Any government except one that is hopelessly bankrupt can obtain money by borrowing. Borrowing implies paying back, so this source of revenue also is a temporary one and not productive of actual revenue. A little further on we will discuss this matter of borrowing a little more fully (§ 290).

(4) *Special Assessments.* Sometimes when a special piece of improvement work is done like laying out a new street, the owners of property whose value will be increased by the improvement are asked to pay a considerable part of the cost — sometimes one-third, sometimes one-half, and sometimes all. But this process adds nothing to the money in the treasury which can be used for public services in general.

(5) *Taxes.* The only sure way by which a government can get money to meet its general needs is through taxes or other forced payments. A tax is really a form of taking private property for public uses. But unlike the exercise of the right of eminent domain, the property owners get no direct return for what is taken. Other forced payments by citi-



One of the Entrance Gates to Peking

Taxes are collected by soldiers at this point.

zens are fees for licenses and special services like recording deeds, and fines imposed on law-breakers.

If you can find any statistics about the finances of your own local government, figure out how large a percentage of its income is derived from each of these five sources.

288. What We Have a Right to Ask about Taxes. — There is no surer way to stir up a citizen to take some interest in his government than to levy a new tax upon him. Most of us object to paying money when we seem not to get anything back from it, for many a person who calls himself a good citizen never stops to think how much he may be receiving indirectly for what he is asked to pay in the form of taxes. Yet there are certain points on which any citizen may rightly insist in connection with collecting taxes.

What should be the principle on which taxes are levied? At first thought we might say, "In accordance with the *benefits received* from the government." But when you come to think of it, a great many people with almost no property at all receive countless benefits from the state. While this principle should not be disregarded, it is evident that it will not meet the needs of the state. Regularly, then, a person's *ability to pay* is made the basis of consideration.

International

ON THE GOVERNMENT RAILROAD IN ALASKA

This road runs from Seward on the coast to Fairbanks in the interior. It is expected to help greatly in opening up the territory.

The person with large wealth will not miss the comparatively small sum taken as taxes. Besides, the more property he has, the more the government must protect.

Certain other conditions every taxpayer, rich or poor, has a right to ask. The money received should be *used for the benefit of all*, not for a favored few. *No distinction* should be made *between individuals*, but all persons or property in the same class or condition should be taxed alike. The tax should be *levied in a public way* and the time and manner of assessing and collecting it should be known to everybody.

It should be *easy to collect* and should cause no unnecessary inconvenience in payment.

We commonly divide all taxes into two great groups — direct and indirect. *Direct* taxes are those whose burden is intended to be borne by the person from whom they are collected and not to be shifted to some one else. Taxes on buildings, land, incomes, inheritances, and the like, are mostly direct. Most of the taxes levied by city, town, or county governments are of this kind.

Indirect taxes are those whose burden is likely to be borne by other persons than those from whom the government collects them. A tax on imported goods, for example, is really paid by the person who uses them, for the importer adds the tax to the price he charges for them, and it does not come out of his pocket. The taxes levied by the national government are largely indirect. This kind of tax is usually more popular than the other, for people pay it without realizing it.

When a tax is collected on a fixed percentage basis, regardless of the total value of the property, it is called a *proportional* tax. If the percentage rate increases in accordance with the value of the property, it is a *progressive* or *graduated* tax. Those who lay great stress on the idea that a tax should be in proportion to one's ability to pay believe strongly in the progressive tax.

Excises are taxes on goods produced or sold within a country. They are often called internal revenue. The taxes on manufacturers or dealers in liquor and tobacco are examples of these. *Customs*, *duties*, or *imposts*, as we use the terms, are taxes on goods brought into the country. These are of two forms: *specific* duties, which lay a definite amount per unit of goods, as 10 cents per yard, dozen, or pound; and *ad valorem*, which collect a percentage of the value of the goods. In one way the latter are fairer, but the former are easier to collect and cheating is not so easy when they are used.

After all, it is the community as a whole that pays every tax. High taxes mean high rents, high prices for goods, and other expedients for getting the money out of the public. Our main problem, therefore, is to invent a tax system which shall make every one pay his fair share. The exact form of the tax is not so important.

289. Public Budgets. — It really seems strange that for so many years we made no attempt in our national government and relatively only few efforts in state or local govern-

ments, to plan the expenditure of public money in any careful or definite way. We passed bills appropriating money for dozens of different things and passed entirely separate tax bills without having the tax bills and the appropriation bills considered by the same legislative committee. How could any one expect that governments that did things in that fashion could come out even at the end of a year except by some fortunate accident?

Every government that pretends to be businesslike should operate on a very definite budget basis. Governments which pay as they go, or which know where they expect to get the money to meet their expenses, can accomplish much more and spend much more wisely than those that drift along in the haphazard way so common in this country.

We now have in the national government a Bureau of the Budget in the Treasury Department. The Director of the Budget is appointed by the President for an indefinite time. All the estimates made by the various administrative departments and commissions are presented to him. He puts them together in an organized fashion and then presents the whole proposition to the President, who turns it over to Congress. There is no way of compelling Congress to pay any attention to this if it does not want to, but it would be a dangerous and foolish proceeding for any party in control of Congress to ignore completely a definite program for handling public money.

There is also a General Accounting Office, headed by the Comptroller General, who is appointed for 15 years and may not have two terms. To this office are sent the reports of financial transactions of all the executive departments. It is not connected with any cabinet office.

In some, though not by any means all, of the states, there is something like a budget. The person naturally in the best position to handle a budget program is the governor, but unless a state government is organized in such a way that the governor has some authority over the heads of the admin-

istrative departments, he cannot plan a budget very effectively. About all the power that is then left in his hands

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NEW YORK CITY HALL AND MUNICIPAL BUILDING

The tall municipal building is one of the most unique structures of its kind in this country.

is the power of vetoing appropriation bills after the legislature has made them. In some states there is a State Board of Estimate which prepares some sort of budget to be submitted to the legislature.

In city governments the mayor is the natural person to put together the budget, because to him the heads of administrative departments are responsible and to him they make annual reports. The law-making branch in all cases must pass the necessary laws or ordinances for levying taxes. The city council therefore in many cases spends some little time going over the estimates that it receives from mayor or some other person before fixing the tax rate. Sometimes the mayor does nothing except turn over to the council the estimates that have been handed in to him and lets the council wrestle with the problem of getting them into the proper limits of expenditure. In New York City there is a Board of Estimate and Apportionment which has very extensive powers over the raising and spending of money. In some places where a budget system is in operation the law-making branch may reduce the appropriation recommended by the budget officer or budget committee but may not increase it.

In your community is there anything like a budget system for handling public finances? In your state? If not, why not? When the proposal for establishing a national budget system was before Congress one or two senators opposed it violently. What possible argument do you suppose they used? What sorts of people might not want to have a government operated on the budget basis?

290. Borrowing and Repaying. — When should a government borrow money? Certainly not, under ordinary circumstances, to pay regular running expenses. That would be like a family who constantly obtained goods from stores or loans from their friends to a greater amount than their total income. Just two purposes in general justify borrowing: to meet the cost of public improvements which will last some time and which are for the benefit of the whole community; and to meet a serious or unexpected need for which no tax revenue can be promptly obtained. It would be very unfair, for instance, to ask the people who were alive at the time of the Civil War to pay the entire cost of the war. If the Union was worth holding together, the benefits of

keeping it together will be felt for generations to come as long as there is a Union. No government, however, ought to borrow money without making provision for paying it.

Sometimes a government will provide for the sale of bonds running for 25 or 30 years, with the supposition that at the end of that time another series of bonds can be issued in place of the first series. Doing things in this way, however, means that interest must be paid for years and years, and if the time stretches on far enough much more will be finally paid by the people in interest and principal than if they had taxed themselves outright to pay the cost of the enterprise at the beginning.

There are two means of meeting debts without having a heavy interest burden drag on indefinitely. One is to issue the bonds in such form that a few of them will become due each year for 15 or 20 years. Then those which become due in any particular year can be paid off by taxes at that time.

Another method is to set up what is called a sinking fund. To do this a certain amount is set apart each year out of the current revenues and put on interest. It is kept by itself and not allowed to be used for any other purpose. Then when the time comes for the debt to be paid off the money that has been put into the sinking fund, with the interest which it has gained during the time, will meet the obligation, and the whole process will not have seemed a very great burden at any time. One or another of these means should be regularly employed in connection with public debts. We should be sure, too, that when we agree to borrow money for public purposes that the purpose is one that is worth going into debt for.

Make a list of five objects for which a local government, a state, and a national government would be justified in borrowing money. Make a list of five purposes for which borrowing money would be unwise. If your local government or your state government is in debt — it probably is — what arrangements have been made for paying it off?

291. Problems of National Finance. — Our national government before we entered the Great War was spending over one billion dollars a year. What a staggering figure that would have seemed to the people of Alexander Hamilton's day when he arranged for paying off a national debt of $54,000,000! And what would they think now when we are spending more than half as much for interest on our debt

as we were spending for all purposes before the Great War?

It has been estimated that 85 per cent of all the expenses of our national government are caused by the wars which have occurred or our preparations for the wars which may come in the future. Everywhere the mass of the people are

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A Scene in the Panama Canal

This shows the famous Culebra or Gaillard Cut.

firmly convinced that armies and navies are an awful burden. Yet the men responsible for administering the governments of the world are not willing to do away with them. In every nation the argument is used that it is not safe for one nation to do it alone. All must do it together, and so none of them does it. Our own country has maintained a very small army in comparison with those supported by some other nations, but even at the Washington Conference we insisted upon having a navy as big as that of any other country in the world.

There has been considerable waste in our national expenses as well as in the other grades of government. Not many years ago the passage of the River and Harbor Bill was an annual scandal. Money was appropriated for dredging harbors and deepening rivers which would never be traversed by craft much bigger than a steam launch. That measure and the one appropriating money for public buildings were often referred to as the "pork barrel." Out of it every Congressman expected to get his share, and therefore most of the members were expected to support the bill as a sort of mutual exchange of courtesies.

Until the Civil War the leading source of national revenue was the duties on imports, but during the Civil War an extensive system was established. Manufacturers and dealers in tobacco, cigarettes, oleomargarine, and some other commodities, have to contribute to this revenue. Now we depend extensively upon taxes on the income of corporations and of individuals. We also levy fairly large taxes on inheritances amounting to over $50,000.

The handling of our national debt is now a problem to tax the wisdom of any Secretary of the Treasury or Congress. Nine-tenths of our present enormous debt was caused by the Great War. Our government borrowed from our people over $20,000,000,000 for the various Liberty and Victory Loans. When we pay taxes to pay off this debt the process is almost like taking money out of one pocket and putting it into another. Several of our allies during the war borrowed from us sums amounting in all to over ten billion dollars. Just what should be done today in dealing with this particular matter is a perplexing question.

Only Great Britain and Finland of all our debtors have (June, 1923) made any arrangements to pay it off. Many Americans reason that the money was borrowed with the expectation of its being paid off — which is entirely correct — and therefore they think that we should insist upon its repayment. To some of the European governments, however, as well as to some of our own people, the case does not seem quite so plain. In proportion to their total wealth the debt of our allies is a much more serious burden than ours to us. We went into the war late and did not bear any such share of distress as they suffered. Besides, they are entirely unable to pay any

large part of the debt just now even if they should attempt to do so. We should not be harsh about judging the policy of other countries. Perhaps we should look at some things a little differently if we were in their places. We think we have troubles — and we do — but we are the richest nation in the world, and can afford to be the most generous.

From the latest obtainable statement of the expenses and receipts of the national government make up a chart or diagram showing for what purposes the chief expenses are made and from what sources the income is mainly derived.

292. Problems of State Finances. — If we were to judge by the amount of money spent, the financing of the public business of our states would be a comparatively easy matter. Not more than one-tenth of the total expenses for public business in this country is paid out by state governments. About one-third is spent by the national government and the rest, about three-fifths, by local governments. This refers, of course, to those expenses which would ordinarily be considered normal and does not include those brought about by the Great War.

States do not very often have big expense bills for any one purpose. In some states the treasury pays out more to help the local school districts than for any other one cause. In other cases the construction of highways is the biggest item in the expense bill. We have already mentioned that very large bond issues have been issued to pay these expenses. Today this is the most common reason why states go into debt. A few have voted bond issues to maintain a soldiers' bonus for the men of their own state. But there are always state institutions of some kind that have to be supported, hospitals, prisons, and the like. Every state has a national guard or state police force of some sort. Most of the states maintain forces of inspectors for mines, factories, and the like, and support health departments, experiment stations, and other activities for public improvement.

To meet the bills incurred by state governments many states have depended upon a general property tax. A *gen-*

eral property tax is levied upon all kinds of property, real and personal. Much objection has been offered to this kind of tax because personal property, such as stocks and bonds,

A Public Building

This is used by both city and county officials in Pittsburgh. The building is so placed that it is hard to take a good picture of it. The courthouse, an older building, is at the left.

may not be discovered by the assessors. Houses and land cannot escape taxation so readily. But suppose the assessors, who put a value on property, do not estimate property on the same basis in one county that the assessors do in the

next? In that case the people in the county where the assessment was made fairly might pay considerably more than their share if that tax was based on the local estimates of property value. To remedy this unfairness most states which secure revenue by this means have a State Board of Equalization. This board has the right to go over the valuation reported from the local districts and make the estimates more even between one community or one county and another. But still the tax is unsatisfactory.

Other states levy taxes on corporations. Every state has an inheritance tax. Some states receive more than others in this way. All states demand license fees from the owners of automobiles. In some cases this money is turned over to the State Highway Department. A few states have an income tax in addition to that one which the citizen has to pay to the national government. The greatest problem in securing revenues for a state is to get them from sources which are not already taxed by some other government.

Some people have complained that the national government in the last few years has been taking over all the principal sources of taxation and making the tax problem much more difficult for the states. Indeed it is true that "double taxation" is not at all uncommon. A corporation, for example, may pay a tax to the state where it gets its charter, to every state where it has a factory or branch office, and in any other states where it owns property.

293. Problems of Local Finance. — In 1916 the debt of New York City was greater than the debt of the United States and greater than that of all the state governments put together. Such a startling fact may suggest the extent to which financial problems enter into the matter of city government. We seldom hear these problems discussed on a broad scale, however, because each community is likely to think of its own particular tax problem as one that does not concern anybody else. But the same principles and many of the same difficulties affect almost every local government, large and small. Most of these local governments must de-

pend for their income upon the general property tax or a tax on real estate alone, and on licenses, fines, and the like.

Sometimes, of course, when a community operates its own water system or lighting plant, sufficient charges are made upon the users of the service to keep the system in operation. But there are always street repairs, the maintenance of parks, libraries, and the like, not to mention the cost of public schools, which must be met out of the general revenue. In a number of states the local governments collect poll taxes. These may amount to one, two, or three dollars, regardless of property.

It is hard to tell by comparing the tax returns of different cities whether a particular city is honestly governed or not. In some communities the custom prevails of putting a value on property for taxation purposes far below its real value in a trade. This means that such a community would have to levy a much higher tax rate in order to get the same revenue that another would obtain from property of the same value. If the property is estimated at what it is probably really worth, the rate of taxation may be kept lower. So in local governments our problems of finance require us not only to know what to levy taxes upon and what to spend money for but also how to decide the value of property that is to be taxed.

Is there any possible excuse for deliberately assessing property below its actual value?

294. Levying and Collecting Taxes. — The assessment of property is at the bottom of practically every system of local taxation. Taxes cannot be intelligently levied until the body that decides upon the taxes knows how much property there is to be taxed. So in every community there is at least one assessor whose duty is to put a value on all taxable property. In some communities we have a board of assessors consisting of three or more persons. An honest, intelligent assessor is a valuable public servant. Unfair pressure is often brought to bear upon him to estimate some one's property much lower

than it is worth so that the owner may get off without paying his share of taxes.

Even the best of assessors may make mistakes. There is always offered, therefore, some chance of appeal from a decision of an assessor to a higher board or official who may have the right to decide what shall be the final assessment of the property. After the assessment lists are made up they are turned over to the tax collector or some other official who generally makes public announcement that the lists are in his possession, so that those who are afraid that their property has been taxed too high may find out and make an appeal if necessary.

But how do councils, commissioners, supervisors, or any other officials who have the duty of levying taxes decide how much they will collect from any person? By dividing the amount needed for public expenses by the total property valuation, a decimal is obtained, which is the rate of tax on the property of each individual or corporation. If the property valuation of a township is $10,000,000 and the amount to be raised for the property tax is $120,000, the quotient is .012. A person whose property is valued at $5,000 would then have to pay $60 in taxes to that community. Find out how the tax rate in your community was fixed and by whom. Sometimes the rather risky policy is followed of deciding what the tax rate shall be and then fixing up the appropriation to come within the tax rate. Why is this a risky method? What justification, if any, can there be for it? By what means and by what persons is your local tax rate fixed? Is your school tax levied and collected by the same people as the ordinary local tax? To whom do you pay your school or other local taxes? your state tax, if you pay one?

For collecting national taxes the country is divided into revenue districts in each of which there is a collector. To him you pay your income tax, if you pay one, and any other domestic taxes that the national government may levy. At each custom house there is a collector of the port, who takes charge of receiving duties on imported goods.

School taxes, county taxes, and state taxes are often levied by different bodies of men, and the rate of taxation will vary. But for convenience the school and other local taxes are usually paid to the same official, and state taxes are frequently collected through the county.

In many cases a discount is allowed if the tax is paid before a certain date, and a penalty added if not paid by a certain later date. If taxes are not paid on property within a reasonable time, the authorities have the right to order it sold at public sale. Whatever remains after the taxes and costs of the sale are taken out is given back to the former owner.

295. Proposed Tax Reforms. — It is much easier to find fault than to correct the fault. With all the talk about the iniquities of the general property tax, no one has yet brought forward a substitute which does not have faults of its own.

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THE CUSTOM HOUSE, NEW YORK CITY

Take, as an instance of the proposed reforms, the so-called *single tax*. The foremost advocate of the idea in the United States was Henry George, who wrote a book called "Progress and Poverty," in which he urged that his plan would almost bring about the millennium. He proposed that nothing whatever should be taxed except the value of land. Land, he said, is the gift of nature, and when individuals occupy this land for their own use, they should pay the state for the

privilege, but should not be taxed for the buildings and other improvements which their own energy and labor brought into existence.

The gobbling up of land in cities by a few speculators who intended to hold it until it became more valuable was in his opinion responsible for the crowding of people in the slums and the resulting disease, crime, and poverty. If unoccupied land were taxed so that it would no longer be profitable to hold it idle, it would be built upon, the pressure on the crowded districts would be relieved, and everything would move on to happiness. Many converts have been made to Henry George's doctrine and there is a pretty general feeling that land values at least have not contributed their share of taxes.

But the question rises whether it is fair that the owners of land which costs nothing to protect should bear all of the burden of taxation, while the buildings which demand so many expenses for fire protection and other purposes should go wholly free. Moreover it is not proved to the satisfaction of all that the filling up of all unoccupied land with buildings would be a great improvement, or that the happiness and morality of any large number of people would be promoted by doing so.

If a plan could be satisfactorily worked out by which national, state, and local governments could draw upon different sources of revenue, instead of overlapping, as they sometimes do, doubtless we should find an improvement. Inheritance taxes and franchises, and no doubt other subjects of taxation, can without injustice be made to contribute much more than they do. After all, while many individuals pay less than they ought to, very few pay more than they get in the way of benefits. The honest expenditure of the revenues is a far more vital problem than the occasional unfairness of present revenue systems.

This taxing power is sometimes used for other purposes than simply to get money. The protective tariff, as we have noticed, is suggested to encourage certain industries in the

country. It is also commonly said that the power to tax is the power to destroy. In other words, a government by imposing a tax high enough could make almost any business or enterprise unprofitable and in that way put an end to it. Congress actually did this in 1865 in imposing a heavy tax on paper money issued by state banks. How far any government may go in this respect would probably be made a matter for appeal to the courts for a ruling every time it was attempted.

What do you think would be the effect of a law which called upon every citizen with an income over $10,000 a year to pay the excess into the government treasury. Would such a tax law be wise? Why is it that the holders of land are very seldom in favor of the single tax idea? Can you explain why this proposition has made more headway in comparatively new towns rather than old ones? Would it be a good plan to forbid that any individual or corporation should pay a tax on the same business or property in more than one state?

Our governments must have money to render the varied services which they perform. Most of this must sooner or later be obtained through taxes. Public expenses should be planned carefully. Borrowing should take place only to obtain revenue for a public improvement that will last a long time or to meet a great emergency. Since the Great War our federal government's debt and expense problem has been tremendous. Cities have also had large budgets, often foolishly and wastefully handled. Our systems of taxation could doubtless be greatly improved. A fair distribution of the burden of taxes upon those who can best afford to pay them is the ideal condition.

SPECIAL TOPICS

The Cost of the Great War and How It Is to Be Paid.
The "Pork Barrel."
What I Would Do if I Were Director of the Budget.
How Our Local Taxes Are Levied and Collected.
How Our Governments Could Save Money.

Resolved, that all the governments allied in the Great War should mutually cancel the debts owed to one another.

Resolved, that every person officially connected with the army or navy of the United States during the Great War, except commissioned officers, should receive a bonus of at least one dollar for each day of service.

The Taxes Our Family Pays.

READINGS

Carlton — Elementary Economics, Chapters 21, 22.

Lessons in Community and National Life, B–22.

Magruder — American Government, Chapter 27.

Reed — Form and Functions of American Government, Chapters 40, 41.

Beard — American City Government, Chapter 5.

CHAPTER XLII

OUR RIGHTS AND DUTIES

"Government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection and security of the people, nation, or community."
— Virginia Bill of Rights, 1776.

296. A Bill of Rights. — If one reason why we have government is to define and make known the rights and duties of individuals, what is the object of tying the hands of the government? For that is what we do when we write in our Constitution a list of restrictions upon the powers of the officers whom we elect. The motive is this: while the ideals of our government do not change except for the better, we cannot feel sure that the people whose duty it is to support those ideals as officers, are always going to be the kind of men we want them to be. Because human nature is sometimes weak, and even well-meaning officers are seriously tempted to neglect their obligations, Americans seem to feel that they ought to play safe and put down in black and white the rights that the people refuse to permit any official, even in the name of their own government, to take away from them. Such a list is called a *bill of rights.*

When our Constitution was made, no bill of rights was included, because the makers of that document took it for granted that the officials who would hold office under it would have no right to do anything except what was specifically put within their powers. But from a great many people so much objection came because no bill of rights was included that the friends of the Constitution agreed that one of the first things to be done after the government was started would

be to attach a bill of rights. And so we have our first ten amendments.

In every state constitution, except one, we find a bill of rights. Usually it says about the same thing that the national Bill of Rights does, though frequently it is more extensive. Do you ask why this was necessary? Because an American citizen really has two citizenships. He is a citizen of the state in which he lives and also a citizen of the United States. If he lives abroad, he possesses only the rights of national citizenship. Yet commonly we do not draw any distinctions. Even when a person moves from one state to another while he may find that in a number of details the laws of the new state are different, yet he will not suffer any inconvenience by reason of any difference in rights which he may enjoy. If, however, we had only the guarantees in the national Constitution, the state governments might, as far as the states were concerned, deprive citizens of the rights and privileges specified in the national Bill of Rights. For all that the national Constitution says, a state could set up the Presbyterian Church as an established church or make its citizens open their houses at any time to the members of the national guard.

The guarantees which our Bill of Rights provides may be grouped under three heads: personal security, personal liberty, and private property.

297. Guarantees of Security. — Every citizen has the right to enjoy life, health, and a good reputation, and no one may by any unjust act deprive him of them. If that is attempted, he may ask the state to protect him. Even the government itself may not take the citizen's life, liberty, or property "without due process of law." His house may not be searched unless a warrant has been issued for that purpose. Soldiers may not be quartered there without his consent except in time of war, and then only if he is properly paid for any loss he suffers. He may keep and bear arms for his own defense.

Under what circumstances should a man be allowed to carry a deadly weapon?

If he is accused of crime, he must be indicted by a grand jury before he is tried. He is entitled to a trial by jury and to have a lawyer and witnesses in his behalf. He cannot be compelled to testify against himself. If he is once acquitted, he cannot be tried again for the same offense. Excessive bail must not be demanded when he is under arrest, and if he is convicted, no cruel and unusual punishment may be inflicted or unreasonable fine imposed.

Read Amendments II to VIII in the national Constitution and look up the meaning of any words or phrases that are not clear. Find from the constitution of your state the provisions that correspond to these articles. Why is it important to safeguard the rights mentioned therein?

298. Guarantees of Liberty. — Quite likely Americans talk more about liberty than about any other one thing that concerns the policy of government. Perhaps they overdo it, for it sometimes seems as if people care more about doing things that they ought not to do than about the things that they ought to do. The famous Frenchwoman Madame Roland exclaimed with reason, "Oh, Liberty, Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!" Yet if we read the history of almost every country and notice the struggles that people have had to release themselves from tyrants and selfish autocrats, we can hardly wonder that they may sometimes go a little too far in asserting their right to do the things that they want to do.

No freer government than our own exists anywhere in the world. As Lincoln said: "This nation was conceived in liberty." But it is well for us to remember that every other law-abiding citizen may also enjoy the liberty which we enjoy, and sometimes it may be necessary to limit slightly our freedom so that some one else may have freedom equal to ours.

A citizen may go wherever he wishes and do whatever he desires, so long as he violates no law of the state and does not interfere with the equal rights of others. No man may be held as a slave. Every citizen may worship as he pleases. He has the right of free speech, a free press, and freedom to meet with other citizens and to petition the government to relieve injustice.

Why are people sometimes arrested for holding meetings?
Should a man have the right to work when, for whom, and for what price he pleases?

The writ of *habeas corpus*, inherited from England, is regarded as a sacred privilege to be used in defense of both the rights we have mentioned. If a person is arrested and held in prison, his friends may go before a judge and secure a writ, or order, commanding the officer in charge of the prisoner to bring him before the judge for a hearing. The judge will then decide whether the prisoner shall be tried at once, let out on bail, or treated in some other reasonable way.

The object of the writ of *habeas corpus* is to prevent the holding of a person in prison indefinitely without giving him a trial. In time of war or other serious public danger, when it may be necessary to keep men under guard who are suspected of disloyalty, spying, or other offensive conduct, the writ may be suspended.

Read Amendment I of the national Constitution and any corresponding provision in your state constitution. Point out definitely the limits that may have to be imposed upon any individual's exercise of these rights so that every other individual may be equally free.

299. Guarantees of Property. — One of the fundamental principles on which our government rests is the right of the citizen to acquire and hold, by any honest means, property which represents the reward of labor. Any citizen is free to acquire, make use of, and dispose of, possessions of any kind, without interference of any one, providing he does this with

proper respect for the rights of others. Upon this fundamental right rests the entire structure of modern business and trade. Even the government itself is forbidden to take private property under the right of eminent domain, unless it gives fair payment to the owner for what it takes.

Some may see an exception to this statement in the levying of taxes. But since the government which protects the

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A New York Arbitration Court

In this court disputes over small business transactions are settled in an informal way without much loss of time and with almost no cost.

property which we have could not exist and do its work without the payment of these taxes, even this seizing of private property is no denial of the rights of a citizen. It makes possible the protection of all the rights we do enjoy.

If individual citizens did not have the right to obtain private property, would they have the same motive to be loyal to the government which protects them in possessing it? If you say no to this question, does your answer mean that people will do nothing except what they think is for their selfish advantage? Is there any such thing as unselfish patriotism? Should we have rights against our governments as well as against persons? Does the citizen exist

for the benefit of his country or the government for the benefit of the citizen? The Declaration of Independence declares that "all men are created equal." From anything that you have observed do you judge that all citizens have equal assurance of enjoying the rights which we have mentioned in this chapter? Is there any danger that in time of peace citizens will be denied any of their rights? What conditions may we need to safeguard in time of war? Is that person a good citizen who insists on the full exercise of all his rights when he knows that such exercise is going to embarrass his government?

300. How the Courts Conduct Their Business. — We do not have courts just for the sake of sending people to jail. The only excuse for the existence of courts is to make certain that people's rights are protected. Sometimes society at large needs to be protected against some dangerous citizen or selfish law-breaker. Sometimes one individual or corporation desires to be protected against some other individual or corporation that seems to be interfering with the rights of the first. These and these only are the reasons why we have courts. Let us follow step by step the process connected with the trial of ordinary cases at law. Remember that there are two kinds of cases, criminal and civil.

I. CRIMINAL CASE

a. Arrest. An arrest is made by an officer (1) who sees a person committing a crime or finds him under suspicious circumstances; or (2) who possesses a warrant calling for the arrest. In the latter case some person must have made a complaint telling why the accused should be arrested.

b. Hearing. The accused person is brought before a police magistrate or alderman, or justice of the peace. This official hears a statement of the charges against the accused, and if the case seems to warrant it, holds him for trial in the proper court. If the accused has friends who will go *bail* for him, he may be released until the time for his trial. His friends agree to pay a certain sum of money in case he does not appear when the trial is called. Bail is not generally permitted in murder cases.

c. Grand Jury Hearing. This body, composed in many states of 23 persons, is summoned whenever a session of criminal court is to be held. The district attorney lays before it the principal fea-

tures of the evidence against the accused. If twelve of the jury think the accused ought to be brought to trial they bring in a "true bill" and draw up an *indictment*, or formal charge, against him. If they think there is no possibility of his guilt, the accused is set free.

d. Trial. A *petit jury* of twelve men is drawn for each case. Witnesses are presented by the prosecuting officer in behalf of the State or Commonwealth and by the attorney for the defendant. These witnesses in replying to questions tell what they know about the case. When the testimony is finished, each attorney delivers a closing speech for his side. The presiding judge then charges the jury, telling them the laws that apply to the case and the facts that they ought to keep in mind in reaching their conclusions. The judge does not as a rule, however, tell them his own opinion about the guilt of the accused. To determine whether he is guilty or innocent is particularly the work of the jury.

e. Verdict. The jury talk over the case in a room by themselves. If all the twelve agree in saying that the accused is guilty or not guilty, they so report to the court. If after discussion, they conclude that they cannot possibly come to an agreement, they report that fact also. When they have finished their work on the case they are discharged. Then they either go home or wait until they may be drawn to hear some other case.

f. Sentence. If the jury say "guilty" the judge imposes sentence. Whether this is a fine or imprisonment or both, depends upon the nature of the case and the opinion of the judge as to what is warranted in this particular instance. Sometimes the law specifies particularly what the sentence must be. In other cases the judge is allowed considerable discretion concerning the amount of fine or the length of a term of imprisonment. It becomes the duty of the sheriff to see that the sentence is carried out. If the jury say "not guilty," the accused person is discharged and cannot be tried again for the same offense. If the jury disagree, the case may be tried over later with a different jury.

g. Appeal. If the convicted man thinks that something was done improperly in the course of the trial, or the judge was mistaken in some ruling, or the law was incorrectly applied in some way, he may *appeal*. In case the higher court decides against him, he must serve his sentence.

II. CIVIL SUIT

a. Complaint. The plaintiff's lawyer files a statement with an officer of the county court, setting forth the reasons why he

thinks the defendant has done wrong and ought to pay money damages because of this wrong. The court official then notifies the defendant.

b. Answer. The defendant's attorney files with the court a statement either admitting the truth of the charges or denying that he has done wrong. In the rare cases when the defendant admits the charges, "judgment" will be entered against him at once.

c. Docket. The case is placed on the court's "docket" or list of cases to be heard when it meets.

d. and *e.* The next two steps are much like the corresponding steps of the trial of the criminal case, except that the district at-

Keystone View Co.

THE FRONT OF A COURTROOM

A woman lawyer happens to be connected with this case, but otherwise the scene is perfectly normal.

torney has no connection with it. Private citizens and not the state or commonwealth are the prosecutors in a civil suit. In some states the jury trying such a case is called the "traverse jury."

f. Finding. The jury decides in favor of the plaintiff or the defendant. If it finds in favor of the plaintiff, it will also decide how much the defendant shall pay in damages. Sometimes when it thinks that no great wrong has been committed it will simply assess the costs of the case on one side or another.

g. Judgment. If the defendant has been ordered to pay damages, the judgment will be entered on the records of the court and the authority of the court will be used, if necessary, to make certain that the judgment is carried out.

h. Appeal. Appeals may be taken in civil suits the same as in criminal cases.

Quite likely some of the details of the processes described here may not be exactly the same as those followed in your state. Find out just what the proceedings are in your own state and if there is time stage a mock trial by your own class. If you do this, be careful about the form of oath or affirmation you administer to the witnesses. No one should even in fun declare to tell the whole truth unless he means to tell it.

301. The Duty of Loyalty. — Most people seem to talk more about their own rights than about the rights of others or about their own duties. But it has often been said that every right carries with it a duty. It is a poor sort of citizenship which is based solely upon our rights and not the other fellow's. Sometimes it is true that people do not get all their rights. Sometimes, though rarely, an innocent man is sent to prison. But far more common are those who try to avoid the performance of their just duties and treat the opportunities of a free country as so many more chances for selfish advancement.

Roosevelt made the "square deal" a popular slogan. That carries with it not only the thought of getting what we are entitled to, but of rendering in return the service which can rightly be asked of us.

Perhaps the simplest of all our duties is the duty of loyalty. It is the simplest because it may seem the least like a duty. Perhaps we have made the word "duty" unpleasant. We think of some stiff, stern figure pointing an accusing finger at us, and pronouncing in grim tones, "It is your duty." Loyalty is usually a pleasant experience. We are loyal to something that we love, or admire, or honor, and surely we ought all to hold such feelings toward our country. Loyalty involves putting "America First" — not America first in a selfish sense, but in the sense that the interests of our nation must have first place above the interests of any class or trade or club or association to which we belong, — sometimes even our own family.

Perhaps it is easier to be loyal in time of war than in time of peace, for then loyalty is in the air. Then a person who is not loyal is unpopular. But loyalty consists in something

REGISTRATION CARD

SERIAL NUMBER | ORDER NUMBER

1 Edward James Hadfield
(First name) (Middle name) (Last name)

2 PERMANENT HOME ADDRESS:
6135 Jackson Pittsburgh Pa.
(No.) (Street or R. F. D. No.) (City or town) (County) (State)

Age in Years	Date of Birth		
3 44	4 August	6	1874
	(Month.)	(Day.)	(Year.)

RACE

White	Negro	Oriental	Indian	
			Citizen	Noncitizen
5 ✓	6	7	8	9

U. S. CITIZEN			ALIEN	
Native Born	Naturalized	Citizen by Father's Naturalization Before Registrant's Majority	Declarant	Non-declarant
10 ✓	11	12	13	14

15 If not a citizen of the U. S., of what nation are you a citizen or subject?

PRESENT OCCUPATION	EMPLOYER'S NAME
16 Salesman	17 Oil Well Supply Co.

18 PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT OR BUSINESS:
215 Water Pittsburgh Pa.
(No.) (Street or R. F. D. No.) (City or town) (County) (State)

NEAREST RELATIVE
Name 19 Wife - Anabelle W. Hadfield
Address 20 6135 Jackson Pittsburgh Pa.
(No.) (Street or R. F. D. No.) (City or town) (County) (State)

I AFFIRM THAT I HAVE VERIFIED ABOVE ANSWERS AND THAT THEY ARE TRUE

P. M. G. O. Form No. 1 (Red) 63—6171
Edward J. Hadfield
(Registrant's signature or mark)
OVER

LISTING AMERICANS FOR SERVICE

Every boy and man between the ages of 18 and 46 had to register on a form like this for possible military service during the Great War.

more than standing when the "Star Spangled Banner" is played or applauding a Fourth of July oration. These things we ought to do, but we should also put our individual interests

in the right relation to the higher interests of our beloved country.

Unfortunately some people are disloyal even in war. These are the people whom we call traitors. Our Constitution has limited rigidly the number of offenses that can be termed treason. Only making war upon the United States and giving assistance to the enemies of the country can be so considered. Moreover it is also required that a person shall not be convicted of this great crime unless he admits it in court, or two persons have witnessed the act. Not even after the Civil War was any one punished for treason, although in a certain sense those who fought for the Confederacy made war upon the United States. Congress may determine what the punishment for treason shall be — and it usually is death. But our Constitution provides that no penalty inflicted on a traitor shall affect the rights of any one else.

Show how loyalty during the Great War called for the putting of the country's welfare ahead of the interests of one's family or business.

302. The Duty of Support. — Obedience to the law and acceptance of lawful authority is one of the surest signs of a good citizen. How many people there are who are perfectly willing that everybody else shall obey the law, but when their own liberty is in some way restrained insist that the law is bad and either openly or by their actions make it plain that they have no intention of obeying! Such conduct is not making war upon the United States, it is true, but it is taking from the authority of the country a part of that which sustains it. If some citizens refuse to respect the laws which they dislike, why may not other citizens refuse to obey the laws which displease them? When once we admit any such privilege, what assurance do we have that any law will be respected by anybody? Acceptance of the law, whether we like it or not, is one of the first and fundamental supports for our government.

Another support is the financial kind. Paying taxes is

always a disagreeable undertaking. Yet it must be done by somebody if the government is to endure. We have already suggested that very few people are asked to pay any more in the way of taxes than they receive in the way of benefits from the government.

Still another feature is respect for those who are in authority. Perhaps you say sometimes officers act in such a way

Keystone View Co.

PAYING THEIR INCOME TAX

as to forfeit any right to our respect. Perhaps some individuals do. But their number is few. There is none too much respect among us for the dignity of an office. We are prone to insist that we are as good as the other fellow. That is possibly true. But if the majority of us have elected him to preside over us we must recognize that for the time being he stands for all the people.

But there is still another kind of support. To keep our grand old "Ship of State" afloat we must have not only a watchful helmsman with a sure hand and a steady eye, but a robust, intelligent crew, willing to help in any crisis and to

coöperate in time of need. We are very willing to recognize that it is the duty of the people as a whole to support our government, but we sometimes fail to realize that much depends upon each one of us. Support of the government by the people means support of the government by every one for himself and on his own account. If every citizen sees to it that he personally supports his government then there will

Marines on Board a United States Vessel in the Yellow Sea

be no worry about having the government properly supported by everybody.

303. The Duty of Service. — Now let us come right down to some of the definite things that prove one to be a good American. The test of anybody's love for you is what he is willing to do for you. You have no right to ask him to do foolish things or to take uncalled-for risks, but if he really thinks much of you he will sometimes inconvenience himself to serve you. So it is with citizenship.

It was a most serious inconvenience that was forced upon 4,000,000 of our boys who enlisted a few years ago, and yet it was their duty. And most of them met it like brave men. There are other forms of service much less dangerous and easier to perform, yet citizens often try to avoid them.

Take, for example, the matter of jury service. How can our courts render justice if the only people who can be obtained as jurors are old men, too feeble to do any active work, or loafers too lazy to do anything else? Yet when you look at many of the juries trying cases involving thousands of dollars' worth of property or the life or liberty of some citizen you wonder if that is the best that your community can afford in the way of jurymen. You would hate to trust your own life or property to such a jury.

The reason why this sort of thing occurs is that the average citizen when he is called for jury service tries to think of some reason for getting out of it. There are some people whose occupation is such that others would be seriously inconvenienced if they were to leave their regular employment for a period of two or three weeks. Such people the court will readily excuse. But when it means nothing more than a slight sacrifice of private business, a loss of a few dollars as between the juryman's pay and your regular income, he is a poor citizen who is not willing to contribute that much to help his courts render justice.

Further, there is the sort of service which in a quiet way gives aid to the authorities when they are trying to enforce a law. A person is not a telltale if he reports to the proper authority occasions when laws are deliberately and repeatedly broken. He is simply doing the sort of service that will make his government count for more and cause its authority to be respected by all concerned. Policemen cannot be everywhere.

An American citizen who is in school can render service right where he is, especially if he is in a public school and his education is being provided out of public money. Did you ever figure how much your community is spending on you every year? Even a pupil in a private school is not free from such responsibility, for as a good citizen it is his duty to become as intelligent and efficient as possible. But the readiest and easiest sort of service, therefore, that you can render is to make use of the opportunities that are yours.

In so doing you will prove yourself a good citizen so far as the opportunity comes to you right now.

One further service we can properly emphasize because a good many do not think of it in this light. Some people say voting is a nuisance. But how long does it take? Only a little part of two or three days a year, at the most, in marking the ballot, and no more time in thinking about how to mark it than you spend on the cartoons in the newspaper or the latest movie heroine.

Voting is a peculiar thing. We talk about the "right to vote" and yet not a person in this country inherits it as a right. Our states prescribe for voters certain requirements that must be met. A person who can meet these requirements then enjoys not only the right but the duty to use it. If a good citizen does not perform this simple duty, of course our government will be the work of the bad citizens.

We hear about women who object to telling their age when they register, forgetting that this little item is one of the means of identification that prevents dishonest voting. We hear people complain that politics are a filthy mess, when they themselves have never turned a finger to help make them clean. To render service at the ballot box is surely one of the simplest and easiest of the duties that a citizen may be called upon to perform.

Is it ever a citizen's right or duty to take the law into his own hands? Should a public officer enforce some laws and neglect others? Does it make any difference to the community if you are careless about your own health and property? Point out the ways in which you as a citizen not yet fully possessing all the rights and privileges of citizenship can help in the cause of good government and social welfare.

304. America Means Opportunity. — Sometimes we are tempted to think that the reason why people get ahead is because of luck or influence. No doubt this is sometimes true, but surely nowhere else in the world are chances better for a person to make his own way than in our own country.

Neither Abraham Lincoln, born to poverty, nor Theodore Roosevelt, born to wealth, was debarred from rising to the highest office which the American people can give. Henry Ford and John D. Rockefeller, spending their early lives in very moderate circumstances, became the richest men in the United States. Jacob Riis, a foreigner, never became wealthy,

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THE LINCOLN STATUE AT NEWARK, N. J.

Lincoln's career proves, if any proof is needed, that "America Means Opportunity."

but he was able to render social service of inestimable value to his fellows in the making of Americans.

No country is making the progress it should make if its people are satisfied simply to "get by." You have the chance and the duty to make the most of the talents that are yours. You owe it to yourselves and you owe it to your country to do so.

305. "Government of the People, by the People, and for the People." — This phrase which Lincoln made famous

puts most concisely the purpose and character of our government. It is established by the representatives of the people, it is supported by the people's votes, their money, and their service. It exists in order to benefit them and to advance the cause of humanity.

"Eternal vigilance," we are told, "is the price of liberty." It will take eternal vigilance to keep the government of the United States of America what we want it to be. There are secret influences which, unless we are ever watchful, may affect the course of American politics in every phase and place. The public may never know why certain bills are "killed in committee," why a high official appoints certain men to office or why some perfectly capable citizen has no chance of obtaining public office. The influences responsible for such things are sometimes referred to as "the invisible government." They have no place in such a government as ours.

During the Great War, we heard much about "open covenants, openly arrived at." There are some things, it is true, which cannot be advertised from the house-tops; and there must be a good deal of private discussion about public affairs. But the public has at least the right to know what its officers are trying to do and why this decision was reached rather than that. It has also the right to insist that public officials shall work solely for the welfare of the people, not for "invisible" interests.

So, whether it is in LIVING TOGETHER, EARNING A LIVING, or EXECUTING THE PEOPLE'S WILL, let each of us do his part to make and keep this people's government for you and for me, and for those who come after us, the finest, cleanest, and strongest in the world.

SPECIAL TOPICS

A Good Patriot in Time of War.
A Good Patriot in Peace.
The History of the Writ of Habeas Corpus.
The Rights of the Person Accused of Crime.
A Visit to a Trial in Court.

Some Commonly Neglected Duties of Good Citizenship.
Qualities in Great Americans That We Should Imitate.
My Chance to Make Something of Myself.

READINGS

Beard — American Citizenship, Chapters 4, 5.
Tufts — The Real Business of Living, Chapters 33, 34, 38–40.
Magruder — American Government, Chapters 15, 22.

APPENDICES

Article I

APPENDIX A

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PREAMBLE

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I. — LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

Section 1. — Congress

All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives.

Section 2. — House of Representatives

1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

[1]3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by add-

[1] Modified by Amendment XIV, Section 2, and Amendment XVI.

ing to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the Executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

Section 3. — Senate

[1]1. [The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.]

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; [1][and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies].

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

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[1] Paragraph 1 and the last part of paragraph 2, in Section 3, have been replaced by Amendment XVII.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a President *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

Section 4. — Elections and Sessions

1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

Section 5. — Government and Rules

1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties, as each House may provide.

2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

Article I

Section 6. — Privileges and Restrictions

1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

Section 7. — Process of Law-making

1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it with his objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and, if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and, before the same shall take effect, shall

be approved by him, or, being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. — POWERS GRANTED TO CONGRESS[1]

The Congress shall have power, —

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. To establish post-offices and post-roads;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the

[1] Additional powers of Congress are mentioned in *Art. I*, Sect. 2, par. 3; Sect. 4, par. 1; Sect. 6, par. 1; *Art. II*, Sect. 1, pars. 4, 6; *Art. III*, Sect. 2, pars. 2, 3; Sect. 3, par. 2; *Art. IV*, Sect. 1; Sect. 3, pars. 1, 2; *Art. V; Amendment XIII*, Sect. 2; *Amendment XIV*, Sects. 2, 3, 5; *Amendment XV*, Sect. 2; *Amendment XVI*.

militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States; and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings; — and

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

Section 9. — Powers Denied to Congress[1]

1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

[2] 4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement

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[1] Amendments I to X are also, directly or indirectly, limitations on the powers of Congress.

[2] Modified by Amendment XVI.

and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8 No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SECTION 10. — POWERS DENIED TO THE STATES[1]

1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II. — EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION 1. — THE PRESIDENT: ELECTION AND QUALIFICATIONS

1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows: —

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of Electors equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

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[1] Supplemented by Amendments XIV and XV.

[1] 3. [The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the Electors shall be the Vice-President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice-President.]

4. Congress may determine the time of choosing the Electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

[1] Replaced by Amendment XII.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation: — "I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

Section 2. — Powers of the President

1. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

Section 3. — Duties of the President

He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public

ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

Section 4. — Removal of Officials

The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III. — JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

Section 1. — Courts and Judges

The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

Section 2. — Jurisdiction and Methods

1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States, between a State and citizens of another State,[1] between citizens of different States, between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within

[1] Modified by Amendment XI.

any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

Section 3. — Treason

1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV. — STATE RELATIONS

Section 1. — Public Acts

Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

Section 2. — Rights and Restrictions of Individuals

1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

Section 3. — New States and National Possessions

1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no New State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned, as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

Section 4. — Protection of States

The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature can not be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V. — AMENDMENT

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI. — AUTHORITY OF THE CONSTITUTION

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution;

but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII. — RATIFICATION

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention, by the unanimous consent of the States present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. *In Witness* whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

G°: WASHINGTON,
Presidt. and Deputy from Virginia,
[*and thirty-eight other delegates.*]

ARTICLES
IN ADDITION TO, AND AMENDMENT OF, THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

ARTICLE I. — PERSONAL FREEDOM[1]

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II. — KEEPING AND BEARING ARMS[1]

A well regulated militia being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III. — QUARTERING TROOPS[1]

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV. — SECURITY OF THE HOME[1]

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V. — SECURITY AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT[1]

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI. — RIGHTS OF PERSONS ACCUSED OF CRIME[1]

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII. — JURY TRIAL IN CIVIL CASES[1]

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII. — BAIL AND PUNISHMENTS[1]

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX. — UNMENTIONED RIGHTS [1]

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X. — POWERS RESERVED TO THE STATES

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI. — SUITS AGAINST STATES [2]

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII. — ELECTION OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT [3]

The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; — the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted; — the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Represen-

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[1] Amendments I to X were proposed by Congress in 1789. After ratification by the states they were proclaimed by the Secretary of State to be in force, 1791.

[2] Proposed, 1794, proclaimed in force, 1798.

[3] Proposed, 1803, proclaimed in force, 1804.

tatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President, whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII. — SLAVERY [1]

Section 1. — Prohibition

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. — Enforcement

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV. — CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS OF CITIZENS [2]

Section 1. — Citizens and Their Rights

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of

[1] Proposed and proclaimed in force, 1865.

[2] Proposed, 1866, proclaimed in force, 1868.

life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Section 2. — Apportionment of Representatives

Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of Electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

Section 3. — Loss of Political Privileges

No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or Elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section 4. — Public Debt

The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States, nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

Section 5. — Enforcement

The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV. — RIGHT OF SUFFRAGE[1]

Section 1. — Negro Suffrage

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States, or by any State, on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. — Enforcement

The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI — INCOME TAXES[2]

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII — ELECTION OF SENATORS[3]

1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

2. When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: Provided, that the Legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointment until the people fill the vacancies by election as the Legislature may direct.

3. This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII — INTOXICATING LIQUORS[4]

Section 1. — Prohibition

After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the

[1] Proposed, 1869, proclaimed in force, 1870.
[2] Proposed, 1909, proclaimed in force, 1913.
[3] Proposed, 1912, proclaimed in force, 1913.
[4] Proposed, 1917, proclaimed in force, 1919.

importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof, for beverage purposes, is hereby prohibited.

SECTION 2. — ENFORCEMENT

The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

SECTION 3. — TIME OF RATIFICATION

This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States as provided in the Constitution within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

ARTICLE XIX — EQUAL SUFFRAGE[1]

SECTION 1. — VOTING RIGHTS

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

SECTION 2. — ENFORCEMENT

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

[1] Proposed, 1919, proclaimed in force, 1920

APPENDIX B

Some Common Customs in Parliamentary Procedure[1]

1. Forming an Organization. — Some person, usually one who has been active in proposing that the organization be formed, calls the meeting to order and asks those present to elect a temporary chairman and secretary. As soon as these officers are elected, they begin their duties. Probably the next step will be to have a committee elected or appointed by the chairman to draw up a constitution or set of by-laws for the organization, for as soon as possible any organization should get to work with a definitely understood program and method of doing business. Until such constitution and by-laws are presented and adopted, the organization will have to act in accordance with the wishes of its members expressed from meeting to meeting. Sometimes an organization elects its temporary officers to permanent positions and sometimes not.

II. Transacting Business. — Almost every act of an organization is done through the introduction of a motion or resolution. A member says, for example, "I move that this society take a collection for the purchase of a permanent record book for the secretary." Some other member says, "I second the motion." It is then open for discussion by any member present. In case two or more members wish to speak at the same time, the chairman decides which one he will "recognize." He should, of course, be perfectly fair and try to give all persons an equal chance to express their opinions.

Sometimes a member will wish to have some change made in the form of the original motion. In this case, he may say, "I move to amend the motion by substituting the words 'levy an assessment of 5 cents a member' in place of the words, 'take a collection.'" If this amendment is seconded, then all discussion must be directed toward the amendment rather than toward the original motion. An amendment may itself be amended. For example, a member may say, "I move to amend the amendment by substituting the word '8' for '5.'" Then discussion must be directed toward the question

[1] These customs are referred to as Parliamentary because most of them have grown out of practices observed in the English Parliament. A few Manuals have been published which contain complete discussion of the whole subject. Perhaps Robert's "Rules of Order" is the most widely used.

of whether 8 cents or 5 cents will be the proper amount. The amendment to the amendment must be voted on first. If it is carried, it is substituted in the first amendment proposed. Then this amendment must be voted on and if carried becomes a part of the original motion. After any proposed amendments have been defeated or adopted, the society will vote on the motion itself.

Sometimes, instead of taking definite action on the motion at once, it may be voted to "lay it on the table." In that case the real effect is to defeat it, except that at some later meeting the society may vote to take the matter from the table. The society may also vote to postpone the consideration of the matter, either indefinitely or until some fixed time. Sometimes a motion is referred to a special committee with instructions to consider the matter and make a report. Sometimes the maker of a motion, if the person who has seconded is willing, may accept an amendment offered by some one else as a part of his own motion or, on the contrary, may withdraw the motion from consideration by the society.

A motion which has been defeated may be reconsidered if a motion to reconsider is offered by some one who voted against the motion the first time.

Sometimes when a matter is being discussed at great length, a member may say, "I move the previous question." This means that he wants discussion to stop and a vote to be taken at once on the matter before the society. The chairman will then say, "Shall the previous question be put?" If the necessary number of those present vote in favor of so doing, he proceeds to call immediately for votes upon any amendments that may have been under discussion and then upon the motion itself.

Some motions are not considered open to debate. These are: motions to adjourn the meeting; to lay a matter on the table; the previous question; to suspend the rules; to take a matter from the table. The by-laws of most organizations require a three-fifths or a two-thirds vote for the adoption of the previous question or to suspend the rules. None of these motions just mentioned can be amended.

It is usually considered that certain motions are of higher order than others. That is, such motions may be offered while others are before the society and must be voted on ahead of those motions. The following is the usual order for these privileged motions:

A. To fix the time to which to adjourn.
B. To adjourn.
C. To lay on the table.

D. The previous question.
E. To postpone to a certain time.
F. To refer to a committee.
G. To amend.
H. To postpone indefinitely.

No one of these motions may be offered when a motion higher in the list is already before the society.

In calling for a vote, the chairman usually says, "Those in favor of the motion will say 'Aye'; those opposed 'No,'" and will make his decision in accordance with what seems to be the wish of the majority. If he is in doubt, he may call for a rising vote, first those in favor, and then of those opposed to the motion, or he may ask for a show of hands in the same way. If the chairman's decision on a viva voce vote (aye and no) is questioned, a member may ask for a rising vote. Sometimes the chairman will then call for a rising vote without delay. Under most rules of order, a portion of those present, sometimes one-fifth, may insist upon a rising vote if they wish to do so, even if the chairman is convinced that his decision was correct.

If a member believes that the rules of the society or the usual customs of parliamentary procedure are not being properly observed, he may "rise to a point of order." If the chairman agrees that the point is "well taken" he will see that the business of the meeting conforms to the rules on the point that has been mentioned. If the chairman overrules the point of order, the member still has the right to "appeal from the decision of the chair." Then the chairman will say, "Shall the decision of the chair stand as the decision of this body?" And the members will vote "aye" and "no" as they did on any motion. The opinion of the members must, for the time being, be taken as decisive.

III. Order of Business. — The following order of business is commonly observed:

1. Reading of the minutes of the last meeting. (After these have been read, any member may call attention to mistakes or omissions in the record and have them corrected.)
2. Reports of officers. (Treasurer, corresponding secretary, etc.)
3. Reports of committees.
4. Unfinished business. (Matters discussed or mentioned at a previous meeting but not finally acted upon.)
5. New business.
6. Adjournment.

Pupil Coöperation in Class Activity

Very often it will be found helpful and interesting to organize the class with the usual officers (president, vice president, secretary, and perhaps others) and then arrange to have some or all of the meetings of the class conducted by the class officers. Such an arrangement should not mean that the teacher ceases to have anything to do with the conduct of the lesson. He should always be ready, acting in the same way as any member of the class, to offer suggestions or motions or comments so that the time of the class will not be wasted or misspent. It has been well said that the socialized recitation is indefensible if it means substituting pupils who cannot teach for teachers who can. Very likely it will be best not to introduce such a method of conducting a recitation until the pupils have had sufficient opportunity to observe the teacher doing the thing properly. But in studying such a subject as this, it is eminently desirable to make the work as real and definite and practical a training in actual life as conditions will permit. Frequently, when a class has been organized, some specific project or opportunity for service around the school will present itself and will offer a valuable opportunity for the class to put into practice some of the ideas it has read or heard about. Sometimes, indeed, such a situation may give rise to the organization of the class rather than follow it.

A pamphlet entitled "Projects in Citizenship," by Dr. R. W. Hatch, of Horace Mann School, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, will be found very helpful. (50¢; The Citizenship Company, Leonia, New Jersey.)

APPENDIX C

Methods of Teaching and Study

Specific classroom methods ought not to be prescribed for such a study as this. Each teacher should figure out that approach to and treatment of topics which will best suit the particular class he has *this* year. A change in methods from year to year will not only keep the teacher alive but make the class feel that it is doing its own work and not imitating the course of some other class. Moreover, it reduces to a minimum the tendency of members of one class to pass on to their successors notebooks and other material which will relieve them of work that they ought to do themselves.

The order in which the topics of this book should be taken up does not necessarily follow the order of their appearance here, though that order is not the result of chance but of plan and reason. Little difficulty will be found if some topic of immediate importance or interest to a class is used as a starter, and from that the class may work in any direction which it desires.

The members of a class should be able to take right home to themselves something in every day's study. If the pupil can feel that he is getting something that will make *him* a better citizen, more useful to himself and his neighbor, he will have a motive and inspiration for his work which cannot otherwise be present.

In most classes it will be found desirable for each pupil to keep a notebook in which may be placed outlines of studies from the text, the results of investigation of local questions, notes on outside readings, and any illustrative material

which he wishes to keep for later use and information. Recitation from the textbook should be constantly supplemented by information from outside reading and personal investigation. When pupils undertake researches on their own account, however, they should see to it that they do not bother busy people with requests for aid which is of no importance except to gratify curiosity. Debates, talks by pupils on subjects about which they have special opportunity to get information, and occasional brief lectures by the instructor, public officials, or other persons who know how to speak to pupils will afford helpful variety to lesson programs.

The *World Almanac* (New York), published at the beginning of each year, is practically a necessity to every Civics class. The *Congressional Directory*, the *Official Hand Book*, *Blue Book*, or *Manual*, published by some office in the state government, and the annual or special reports of county, city, and township officers, can usually be obtained without charge, and will give the most recent information on the governments with which they deal. From the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., can be obtained a list of the bulletins issued by the various national departments and bureaus. From this list selections can be made of the publications which will be of the most use to each school. Some of these are furnished free, but for many of them there is a small charge, sufficient only to cover the cost of publication. Similar bulletins may be issued by branches of the state government.

Several of the best weekly and monthly periodicals should be always accessible. *The Independent*, *The Literary Digest*, *The Outlook*, and *The Survey* are excellent weeklies, and *Current Opinion*, *The American City*, *The Review of Reviews*, and *The World's Work* are valuable monthly publications. These are all published in New York.

Clippings, pictures, and the like will be collected by the pupils from many sources. Those which they do not care to keep for themselves can be filed, classified, and indexed.

A collection of material thus secured in the course of a few years may become very valuable.

Ballots, tax lists, tax receipts, warrants, subpœnas, deeds, mortgages, plans, maps, charts, contracts, licenses, and the like, from a great variety of sources, are more or less easily obtainable and are of much illustrative value.

For schools which can afford the expense there should also be copies of such reference books as Bliss's *New Encyclopedia of Social Reform* (Funk and Wagnalls, New York), McLaughlin and Hart's *Cyclopedia of American Government* (Appleton), and the *International Year Book* (Dodd, Mead & Co.).

Every teacher should use bulletins of the United States Bureau of Education, such as No. 23 for 1915 on *The Teaching of Community Civics*, and No. 28 for 1916 on *The Social Studies*. Many of the state Boards of Education also publish valuable matter.

APPENDIX D

Reference Books for Teacher and Pupil

A few usable books which the pupil can read with interest and understanding, supplemented by up-to-date reference material, will be found of more value to him than shelf-loads of advanced treatises or of books of passing literary interest. In the accompanying list are included books which will enlarge the teacher's acquaintance with the fields on which this study is based, as well as those which are within the grasp of the junior high school pupil. Those which are particularly suited to the young pupil are indicated with an asterisk. No effort has been made to list the many magazine articles which will be helpful if available. New ones are constantly appearing, and an up-to-date civics class keeps watch for anything of this kind that comes along. Libraries which have magazines of past years on their shelves will probably have also periodical indexes from which the teacher can make his own reference list.

Abbott, *The Immigrant and the Community*, Century
Abbott, *Woman in Industry*, Appleton
Adams, *Description of Industry*, Holt
Adams and Sumner, *Labor Problems*, Macmillan
* Antin, *The Promised Land*, Houghton
Ashley, *The New Civics*, Macmillan
* Beard, *American Citizenship*, Macmillan
Beard, *American City Government*, Century
Beard, *American Government and Politics*, Macmillan
Beard, *American Labor Movement*, Century
Bliss, *Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, Funk
Bogard, *Economic History*, Longmans
* Bok, *The Americanization of Edward Bok*, Scribner
Brigham, *Commerical Geography*, Ginn

Bruere, *The New City Government*, Appleton
Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, Macmillan
Bryce, *Modern Democracies*, Macmillan
Burch, *American Economic Life*, Macmillan
Burch and Patterson, *Problems of American Democracy*, Macmillan
Carlton, *History and Problems of Organized Labor*, Heath
* Carlton, *Elementary Economics*, Macmillan
* Carney, *Country Life and the Country School*, Row, Peterson
* Carpenter, *How the World Is Clothed*, American
* Carpenter, *How the World Is Housed*, American
Carver, *Elementary Economics*, Ginn
Carver, *Principles of Rural Economics*, Ginn
Casson, *The History of the Telephone*, McClurg
Casson, *The Romance of Steel*, Barnes, New York
Clark, *Cost of Living*, McClurg
Cleveland, *Organized Democracy*, Longmans
Coman, *Industrial History of the United States*, Macmillan
Commons, *Industrial Government*, Macmillan
Commons, *Races and Immigrants in America*, Macmillan
Cope, *The Modern Sunday School and Its Present Day Task*, Revell
Croly, *Progressive Democracy*, Macmillan
Croly, *The Promise of American Life*, Macmillan
Curtis, *Education through Play*, Macmillan
Daniels, *America via the Neighborhood*, Harper
Davis, *Vocational and Moral Guidance*, Ginn
Day, *A History of Commerce*, Longmans
* Drake, *The Making of the Great West*, Scribner
* Du Puy, *Uncle Sam's Modern Miracles*, Stokes
* Du Puy, *Uncle Sam, Wonder Worker*, Stokes
* Dunn, *The Community and the Citizen*, Heath
* Earle, *Home Life in Colonial Days*
Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, America
Follett, *The New State*, Longmans
* Giles, *Vocational Civics*, Ginn

* Gillette, *Constructive Rural Sociology*, Macmillan
Given, *The Making of a Newspaper*, Holt
Gowin and Wheatly, *Occupations*, Ginn
Gulick, *The American Japanese Problem: A Study of the Racial Relations of the East and West*, Scribner
Haines, *Your Congress*, National Voters' League
Hart, *Actual Government*, Longmans
* Haskin, *American Government*, Lippincott
Haworth, *America in Ferment*, Bobbs, Merrill & Co.
Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, Appleton
Henderson, *Dependents, Defectives, and Delinquents*, Heath
Holdsworth, *Money and Banking*, Appleton
Hotchkiss, *Representative Cities of the United States*, Houghton
Howe, *The Modern City and Its Problems*, Scribner
Huffcut, *Elements of Business Law*, Ginn
Hughes, *Problems of American Democracy*, Allyn & Bacon
Jenks and Lauck, *The Immigrant Invasion*, Funk
Jenks and Lauck, *The Immigrant Problem*, Funk
Johnson, *American Railway Transportation*, Appleton
Johnson, *Introduction to Economics*, Heath
Keith, *The Nation and the Schools*, Macmillan
Laing, *Introduction to Economics*, Gregg
* Leavitt and Brown, *Elementary Social Science*, Macmillan
* *Lessons in Community and National Life*, U. S. Bureau of Education
Lowell, *Public Opinion and Popular Government*, Longmans
Magruder, *American Government*, Allyn & Bacon
* Marriott, *Uncle Sam's Business*, Harper
Marshall and Lyon, *Our Economic Organization*, Macmillan
Marshall, Wright, and Field, *Materials for the Study of Elementary Economics*, University of Chicago Press
McAdoo, *Guarding a Great City*
McKeever, *Industrial Training of the Girl*, Macmillan
Mecklin, *Democracy and Race Friction*, Macmillan

Moulton, *Principles of Money and Banking*, University of Chicago Press
Mowry and Mowry, *American Inventions and Inventors*, Silver, Burdett
Munro, *The Government of American Cities*, Macmillan
Munro, *Government of the United States*, Macmillan
* Nida, *City, State, and Nation*, Macmillan
Osgood, *History of Industry*, Ginn
Pollock and Morgan, *Modern Cities*, Funk
Price, *The Land We Live In; Boys' Book of Conservation*
Puffer, *Vocational Guidance*, Rand, McNally
Reed, *Form and Functions of American Government*, World
Richardson, *Adventures in Thrift*, Bobbs, Merrill
Riis, *How the Other Half Lives*, Scribner
* Riis, *The Making of an American*, Macmillan
Roper, *The United States Post Office*, Funk
Ross, *What Is America?* Century
Rowe, *Society*, Scribner
Seager, *Principles of Economics*, Holt
Semple, *American History and Its Geographical Conditions*, Houghton
Small and Vincent, *Introduction to the Study of Society*
Smith, *Commerce and Industry*, Holt
* Southworth and Kramer, *Great Cities of the United States*, Iroquois Publishing Co.
Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*, Scott, Foresman
Spearman, *The Strategy of Great Railroads*, Scribner
Steiner, *On the Trail of the Immigrant*, Revell
Strauss, *History of the Thrift Movement in America*, Lippincott
Taussig, *Principles of Economics*, Macmillan
* Thompson, *Elementary Economics*, Sanborn
Towne, *Social Problems*, Macmillan
* Tufts, *The Real Business of Living*, Holt
Van Hise, *Conservation of Natural Resources*, Macmillan
Warman, *The Story of the Railroad*

Warne, *The Immigrant Invasion*, Dodd.
Warner, *American Charities*, Crowell.
Washington, *The Future of the American Negro*, Small, Maynard.
* Weaver, *Profitable Vocations for Girls*, Laidlaw.
* Weaver and Byler, *Profitable Vocations for Boys*, Laidlaw.
White, *Money and Banking*, Ginn.
Wilson, *The American City*, Macmillan.
Williams, *Romance of Modern Invention*, Lippincott.
Wright, *Practical Sociology*, Longmans.
Young, *New American Government*, Macmillan.
Zueblin, *American Municipal Progress*, Macmillan.

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